ISLAMIC SUFISM

ISLAMIC SUFISM

By

SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI
2009 QASIMJAN ST
DELHI (INDIA)

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	The Origin and Earliest Sects of Sufism .	15
II.	Cardinal Beliefs and Practices of Sufism .	35
III.	Is Religion Possible with Sufism ? . . .	76
IV.	The Naqshbundi Order	97
V.	Conceptions of Sufism	113
VI.	Reality of Existence	148
VII.	The Spiritual Experiences	172
VIII.	The Sufi Saintship	228
IX.	The Value of Poverty	242
X.	Music in Sufism	255
XI.	The Sufi Conception of the Chishti Order .	285

PREFACE

THOSE who are solicitous concerning the future of the human race in the spiritual rather than the material sense must experience as they view the tendencies of the present age a deep sense of misgiving.

To find a parallel for present-day callousness one would require to go back to the Dark Ages succeeding the fall of Rome, that frightful interregnum between civilizations when, the ostensible piety of Europe notwithstanding, the conditions of existence were, perhaps, more nearly chaotic than at any other period, when human life had practically less value than that of a domestic animal to-day, and morality was almost solely confined to monastic institutions.

But, above all, it is the callousness of mankind towards its fellow beings to-day which gives alarm in the minds of the sagacious in spiritual things. In all great cities everywhere a meretricious enjoyment has become the only end and aim of large masses of the population. Duty and conscience, patriotism, domestic life, all are sacrificed on the altar of immediate pleasure; in short, the world is now more hollow than at any time since the dawn of contemporary history, more reckless, more utterly heedless. Never was there such an "inhuman dearth of noble natures."

It is invariably when the clouds of vice loom most darkly over the human horizon that great

moral teachers arise with lighted torch in hand to dissipate the gloom. Moses came when Israel was steeped in the slime of Egyptian infamy. The Christ shone upon Asia Minor when Jewry was reduced to a creed and ritual without spirituality and the native court of the Herods was at its most debased. Mohamed startled a degenerate and pagan Arabia into vigorous racial and religious life. Martin Luther and John Knox made heedless Germany and a proverbially immoral Scotland pause in the midst of their follies as men are startled into silence by the sound of a trumpet.

Are we on the verge of some such revival of spiritual thought to-day ?

Many great and experienced thinkers devoutedly believe that we are. But what form, they ask, will this renaissance of spirituality take ? Naturally, perhaps, each one favours his own especial faith as a medium of revival, if we are to think in merely religious terms. The Presbyterian and the Methodist devoutly believe that it must be Lutheran in tone, the Catholic that by a reunion of the Christian Churches under the ægis of Rome can the great Crusade of spiritual regeneration be accomplished. The Moslem is equally confident that his faith alone can illumine the earth and root out vice and dishonour. The Buddhist points out that through his Noble Eightfold Path lies the road to spirituality. The sons of China hold to the idea that by pious consideration of the virtues of their fathers and careful recognition of the tenets of Confucianism or Taoism they will be enabled to reawaken the land of Sinim. To them the barbarian matters not at all.

Let us not at the moment argue concerning the precise mean of human salvation, but rather regard the terrible needs of sin-stricken and debased humanity; that is the first and most truly spiritual step of all. God reigns over Christians and Moslems, Buddhists and Confucians, alike. He is the common Father of all, and it is only through pious consideration of His common fatherhood and His Divine Will that humanity as a whole can ever be dragged from the appalling slough of vicious wretchedness in which at present it wallows. The world requires a spiritual common denominator, a great human path, a way, which shall embrace all the creeds, a spiritual clearing-house and forum in which its sectarian differences will, little by little, become cancelled out until only the great essentials remain. What are those ways? The spiritual movements in the East, such as the Occult and mystical sciences like Sufism and others, have the answers; and here I, as a Sufi, wish to speak of my Way.

Now, in examining the doctrines of Sufism, we find that a Sufi bars none from practising his ideas. He believes that even in this state of society, groaning as it does under materialistic thraldom, he can yet tread his path in complete rhythm with the life-current of our own day. He hopes to fulfil a dual purpose, one of gaining proper "direction" for "refining" himself; and the other, perhaps more important of the two, that of assisting others to rise above the dross and the afflictions of the conditions around him; for the motive of a universal brotherhood based on the uplifting of his fellow men, and considering none outside the

avenue of his efforts, treating all humanity as one, are all enjoined upon him. In it, indeed, heaven and earth are brought into strange accord.

This later phase of his teachings has a great significance in attesting to the ancient roots of the Sufi Way. It indicates that whereas in the progress of history the outlook of other philosophical doctrines has changed according to environments, the Sufi ideals have remained patent to the original form in adhering to the conception of a comprehensiveness without a frontier.

The Classical man, for example, when speaking of humanity, narrowed the issue between the Hellenes and the barbarians; later, in the early dawn of the pre-Islamic era in Arabia, they could think of only two sections; the one the "vocal discerning Arab," and the other the "mute" peoples of the rest of the world. Then the pendulum swung back to Kant, of a later age, when, in the ethical sense, this Western thinker philosophizes on the universal validity of the mystic way, thus approximating to the Sufi ideals, and agrees with Jami, the Persian Seer, who affirms, "Life is a whisper of dreams, it awakens the young and the old to the reality of service, to the purpose of help of all that is and will be."

Furthermore, it is clearly laid down that the Sufi should not withdraw from the world; in fact, his work lies amongst his fellows. "Be with the world, but not of it," is the command, which, when explained, signifies an intense form of mental discipline. This "focusing of the mind," as our Sufi teachings have it, is one of the cardinal exercises of the Way. Dovetailing of ideas in this

manner, it is contended, imparts completeness to the philosophy of the future.

It is claimed, too, that the methods of the Sufi, if introduced into the hurly-burly of modern life, are not only practicable, but can materially help the seeker better to perform his worldly task concurrently with his progress towards spiritual unfoldment. Take, for instance, meditation; it is manifestly possible for a man to close his eyes for a few minutes and in an attitude of mental detachment relax all his muscles and contemplate.

Try it, for the briefest period every day that you can give, and observe with spiritual penetration that anxiety and nervous tension—those ever-present concomitants of twentieth-century existence—are very considerably lessened; there is a marked degree of mental comfort; hidden glories are revealed, for a step has been taken towards "refinement" of the "spark"; and it is no vain claim that the excellence of worldly work is increased also. Shut out the noise and the light and for a short space control the outer impulses—it has been done in the busiest parts of London—and then note its usefulness as the joy-giving stream surges into the fibre of the mind.

When the value of these practices, and phenomena arising therefrom, was recently determined by the Industrial Psychologists in this country, the whole Western world applauded it as an "epoch-making discovery," little remembering that in the Occult and mystical sciences of the East, notably in Sufism, it has been known and practised for centuries together. Also, an American Scientist proved, a little while ago, that the average

man now uses only twenty per cent of his brain, and exhorted civilized man to use more of his mental equipment. The theory created something of a sensation in Europe, whilst for generations the Sufi has known that the mind of the "seeker" does not operate beyond one fourth of its capacity till it has gone through the spiritual discipline. These and other points are sufficient to show how the old principles of Sufism are applicable to modern life; and, what is more, that they increase its force and value.

Another spiritual step which the seeker must take is charity, both in thought and in action. This is frequently alluded to in Persian writings, and even in Arabic, as "sympathy." To receive such consideration is the birthright of all men. "To the weary, it seems a rest-house after a climb on a wind-swept hill," says Tabrazi; "or like the oasis after the breath-catching sand-storm in a parched desert," as the teacher of Bokhara put it. These are no empty precepts, as their practice is obligatory upon all who tread the path of the Sufi. And true it is, indeed, that a little word of comfort, a note of encouragement, even now, are known to have made history.

The love of spirituality is advocated as worth cultivating; for is it not the case that most of the discomforts, and even dangers, attending modern life would vanish if we did not build our dream palaces of frivolous material and bedeck them with the flowers of passing fancy?

By adopting these elementary Sufi practices, the mind can be brought into tune with the spirit of the age—its grossness notwithstanding—and

illuminated by the "light" which is in every one of us; and further, our latent forces for good can be increased, as well as our creative productivity.

Lastly, reverting again to the material aspect of this mystical doctrine, it is not generally known that Sufism has a decided relationship with that state of mind which actually dispels bodily disease; for it is believed that the goal can only be reached if "the shell" is healthy and co-ordinates freely with the house of "spiritual pearl" within; that there is an interplay between the work of the body and of the soul or "the spark." The idea of the Sufi, therefore, goes much beyond the usual in this respect; because in many cases it is asserted that the diseased body of another person can be relieved of ailments by the "tawajuh," or "penetrating concentration," of the Sufi.

I have seen this done time and again in places as far apart as on the banks of the Ganges and at the shrines of Khaja Bahauddin, in Bokhara, Central Asia. It can therefore be stated, in all seriousness, that the acquirement of this power of curing or alleviating disease is constantly possible for a Sufi after a certain degree of "purity" has been attained. Moreover, the control which the mind of the Sufi exercises over his body can keep and often has kept him immune from physical incapacities. That, of course, in itself is no miracle, being within the reach of all of us if we follow the "path"; but what is noteworthy is the fact that this power, having been discovered only recently by the medical psycho-therapeutist, is now considered to be so useful that the modern medical man has to have a thorough knowledge of it, thus

indirectly proving the value of Sufism in the life of to-day.

In conclusion, I particularly invite the reader's attention to the title of this book. Aware as I am that, in authentic and legitimate sense, there is no form of Sufism other than Islamic, I was compelled to use the adjective Islamic before Sufism, so that the uninitiated may not confuse it with such non-Islamic movements which due to utter ignorance are styled Sufism; for a Sufi must of necessity be a Moslem; and the universal application of the Sufi Thought is comprehensive in the same undoubted extent as is Islam. According to all correct doctrines, then, the Koran is the first and the last Text Book of Sufism, and the Prophet Mohamed the greatest Sufi of all times. Whosoever, therefore, does not subscribe to this idea, despite the fact that he may be following an Occult Way, is not a Sufi.

In the progress of this book, I have been greatly assisted and advised by such scholars as Professor Nicholson, the late Professor Sir Thomas Arnold, Professor Storey, Professor Syed, by the earlier discourses of Sheikhul Akbar Hadratna Shah Abul Khair Mujaddadi; the Islamic-Laureate Sir Mohamed Iqbal; the celebrated Khaja Khan, and finally by that "Fountain of Goodness" Hadrat Syedna Nawab Amjed Ali Shah Naqshbundi Paghmani. To each and to all my heartfelt and grateful acknowledgment is due.

FAQIR

Syed Ikbal.

LONDON.

10th September, 1933.

ISLAMIC SUFISM

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN AND EARLIEST SECTS OF SUFISM

ACCORDING to the belief of the Moslems, Sufism, or, to give it its proper appellation, *Tasawwuf*, has its origin in the teaching of and in the personality of the Prophet Mohamed. It may have begun in a state of ecstasy; and that phase of mind always has remained the sublime mystery of all mysteries.

In such a state the Prophet is said to have asked his spouse Ayesha: "*Man Anti*" (Who art thou?). She replied, says the author of *Kunsul Asrar il Qidam*: "*Ana Ayesha*" (I am Ayesha). Again he asked: "*Man Ayesha*" (Who is Ayesha?), the reply being: "Ibinnatus Saddiq (daughter of Siddiq, the first Khalifa)." Again did the Prophet ask: "Who is Siddiq?" He received the reply: "The father-in-law of Mohamed": but when she was asked who Mohamed was, the wife of the Prophet remained silent, for now she knew that the Prophet was in another state: in that state, indeed, when the philosophy of Hama-Oust (All is He) is the index of life: when the Mystery of all that is exists through divine radiance, into Whom all shall be absorbed. The Prophet Mohamed thus ranks as the first Sufi of Islam.

During the first years of the Prophet Mohamed's

ministry forty-five men of Mecca, more or less renouncing the active life of the world, gave themselves up entirely to meditation. They sat in the mosque, fervent devotees of the Prophet's doctrines.

Abul Fida, the well-known Moslem historian, considers that these men of God, called *Ashabi-Safa* (sitters in the Shrine), were styled as Sufis. "They were poor strangers, without friends or place of abode, who claimed the promises of the apostle of God, and implored his protection. Thus the porch of the Temple became their mansion; and thence they obtained their name. When the Prophet went to meals, he used to call some of them to partake food with him, and selected others to eat with his Companions."

No doubt the sect of the Sufis came into existence, states the celebrated Khaja Khan, about this time: but he does not believe that they did bear that name just then. He adds that the author of *Awarif-ul-Marrif* (Shaykh Shahabuddin Suharwardi, 632 A.H.) thinks that this name did not come into existence for two hundred years after the Prophet's death. This statement is borne out by the fact that the word *Tasawwuf* does not find a place either in the Sittah compiled in 392 A.H. or even in the Qamus, the standard Arabic Dictionary compiled in 817 A.H.

These men are known in the Quran by the terms Muqarrabin (friends of God), Sabirin (patient men), Abrar (virtuous men), Zuhhad (pious men) —some of them were known as Muqarrabin, for six hundred years in the regions of Turkistan and Mavara-un-Nahar (Mesopotamia).

The author of *Ghiathul-Lughat* states another

theory, that Suffa was the name of a tribe of Arabs, who in the time of Ignorance separated themselves from their people and engaged themselves in the service of the Meccan temple. This Arab tribe of Suffa lived in Bani Muzar.

Thirdly, it has been also said that they take their name not from *Saf* (bench), though they might have been bench-sitters, as Abdul Fida says, but from *soof*, wool; as they wore woollen garments; but this was repudiated, as wool is the garment of cattle (*as soof libasul anam*).

A fourth sect considers it to come from *suff*, a row; as these men will stand in the first row of men on the day of judgment

A fifth derivation is from the Greek, *Sophia*, wisdom; in which case they become *sophists*—an origin and a significance which they emphatically repudiate—hence giving it a Neoplatonic origin. The Moslem authorities sharply contest the point: for they believe, in virtue of documentary evidence before them, that Sufism is an expansion of the esoteric form of the religion of Islam, and has no connection with either Greek or Aryan influences.

In support of this idea, they further the argument that in the first and second centuries of the Islamic era the Moslem intellectuals were far too much occupied in furthering their own system of ethics; and had neither the inclination nor any impetus to desert what was their own in order to learn a foreign culture.

Poetry, too, which had grown into a passion with the pre-Islamic Arabia was almost discarded in favour of the Moslem theological activities.

The Moslems started to study Neoplatonic

philosophy in the third century of Islam's birth during the reign of Mamun, and not before, with the result that some books from the Greek were translated only during his time and that of his successor, Mansur.

This state of partial adoption of the Greek learning continued down to Farabi in A.D. 950. And the significant fact emerges therefrom that the early Saints of Sufism did not have the least touch with what may have been translated from the Greek centuries after their time.

The Sufis, therefore, who followed the ancient masters, merely adopted what had been handed down from the original sources without assimilating in the slightest degree even a single item of Greek philosophy : so that in the tenth century the cult of Sufism was complete, and, be it remembered, complete in the safe pattern and form which was preached and practised in the beginning.

The case of the infiltration of Aryan ideas is likewise, for not till the reign of Mamun did the Arabs devote any attention to the lore of mid-Asia : by which time, as has been pointed out above, the roots of original Sufism were firmly established in the minds of those who followed it.

It is, therefore, probable that the word comes from *safa*, purity. These were men of pure hearts and pure lives like the *hawaris* (apostles) of Jesus Christ. Baidhawi derives the word *Hawari* from *hawara*, to be white (Syriac, *hewara*). They became *hawaris*, not because they wore white garments, but because of their pure lives ; and so the Sufis were Sufis, because of their pure lives and pure hearts and spiritual elevation. No doubt they

had their origin on the bench, but their appellation came to them on other considerations.

The Quran has defined Ubbad or the subsequent Sufis as " the true servants of God who walk on the earth with polite and courteous bearing ; and who when they address the ignorant people give reply to their salaam : '*Wa ibad ur Rahmanillazina yamshuna alal-arzi hawnan wa iza khatabahumul jahiluna qalu salama.*' " (Surat-ul-Furqan xxv. 62.)

A Sufi has been defined in various ways by other well-known Islamic authorities :

Dhun Nun Misri says that a Sufi is one whose speech accords with his behaviour and whose silence indicates his state, and who discards worldly connections (*as sufi iza nataqa biana nutuqihi min al haqayiqi wa an sakata nutqata anhul jawarih biqatil alayiq*).

حیرت ملازم گل رخسارۂ کسیست   دیوانگی نتیجۂ نظارۂ کسیست

My wonderment is in slavery bound to the radiance of,
Some One's cheek !
My being enchanted is due to the lingering of my gaze,
Upon Some One !

Junayid of Baghdad defines *Tasawwuf*—Sufism —as an attribute in which the *abd* takes his stand, the substratum of which is an attribute of God, and the appearance, the attribute of the creature, i.e. in *Tasawwuf*, the attribute of the *abd* is annihilated and of God becomes everlasting, e.g. God has said : " Fasting is for Me and I am its reward " (*As sawmu li wa ana ajzi bihi*). The fast is for God, who neither eats nor drinks ; and its appearance as a ceremony is for man. Abul Hasan-i-Nuri defines it as renunciation of all pleasures of *nafs* (*At Tasawwfu taraku kulli*

hazzin nafsi), thus emphasizing on asceticism. Further, a Sufi is one who neither owns (property) nor is owned, i.e. one who is not in limitations (*As sufi al lazi la yamliku wa la yumlaku*). Abu Bakr Shilbli has said : " *Tasawwuf* is renunciation, i.e. guarding oneself against seeing ' Other-than-God ' in both the worlds " (*As sufi la yara fid darain ma Allah ghayr ullah*).

Khafif defines it as an Observance of the existence of God at the time of neglectfulness (*Wajd Alla fi hin il ghaflat*).

Abu Said Fuzlulla thinks that it is concentrating the mind on God (*Al Tasawwufu qiyam ul qalb ma-Allah*).

Tasawwuf consists of two duties—action (formalism), which consists in conforming to the lines of the *Shariat* or the Canons of Islam ; and then thinking and feeling (*Tariqat*). There can be no correct feeling without correct thinking. First, the idea that you form must be in the proper mould—before you can feel the existence of the idea in the correct way.

In the beginning, says the mystic Khaja, the doctrines of *Tasawwuf* were taught by signs, as even now the occult part of it is similarly dealt with. The adepts could talk with each other by signs, without uttering a single word.

Dhunnun was the first to put the doctrines in words ; Junayid of Baghdad systematized the same. Abu Bakr Shibli was the first to preach them from the minbar of the mosque. He brought them out from the innermost recesses of the heart which is the throne of God (*Qalb ul mumínína arsh ullah*) to the rungs of the minbar or pulpits. It was committed

to writing by Abul Qasim al Qushayri (437 A.G.) in his *Risalat-Qushairryah fil Ilm-ut-Tasawwuf.*

Feeling again is connected with meditation, that is, getting above earthly things, and surveying them as if from a tower (*Specula*), flying to the dizzy heights of imagination, or it may be—being drawn up to the heights of illumination. It was on a mountain-height that Christ had His transfiguration. The schools of Moslem idealist philosophers have already been mentioned. The men of action were those mostly concerned with moral and spiritual regeneration. The two sets cannot be separated into water-tight compartments. Those who meditated were also those who ascended the ladder of certain phases of moral conduct. Junayid, for example, based his *Tasawwuf* on eight different qualities of the mind, viz. submission, liberality, patience, silence, separation (from the world), woollen dress, travelling, poverty —as illustrated in the lives of Isaac, Abraham, Job, Zachariah, Moses, Jesus, and the Seal of the Prophets (on all whom be peace). The Salik or the Noric-Wayfarer adopts any one of the paths thus chalked out for him; and thereby attains his station (*Muqam*), i.e. he stations himself on the attribute in which God manifests Himself in him. He is a man of *Mushahada* or Manifestation; Syedna Uthman's station was bashfulness; Syedna Ali's, largeness of heart; Imam Hasan's, patience; Imam Husayn's, steadfastness in truth.

Syedna Abu Bakr and Syedna Ali, the first and the fourth Caalifs, founded their own orders. Three important orders trace their origin to the first, viz. Naqshbandiyyah, Baktashashiyyah, and

Bistamiyyah ; the remaining orders were the offshoots of the one founded by Hazrat Ali. On the demise of the former, his mantle descended on the shoulders of Salmani-Farsi ; and on that of the latter, his mantle descended on Hasan-al Basri.

Uways-i-Qarni (*ob.* 39 A.H.), who had no connection with the above two, founded his order of Uwaisiyyah. A Sufi who has no *Pir*, or spiritual guide, is said to belong to the Uwaisiyyah Order, since Uways of Qarn (a village in Nejd) had none for his *Pir* like the two founders, who had the Prophet for their *Pir*. Uways-i-Qarni is known only as Ashqi-Rasul (Lover of the Prophet).

The Prophet (Peace on him) has said : " The best of the times is my time, and then the one that succeeds it ; and then the one that succeeds it " (*Khayr-ul-qurunl qarnl, thummal lazina yalunahum thummal lazina yalunahum*) ; and hence the three generations of the best Moslems are the Ashab, Tabiis, and Tabitabiis.

In the first generation connected with Ashabi-suffa appear the names of Abu Bakr, Umar, Ali, Bilal, Ibni, Riyah, Abu Abdullah, Salmani-Farsi. In the second generation, appear the names of Uwaysi-Qarni, Hiran ibni-Heya, Abu Ali al Hasan Basri ; and in the third, of Habibi-Ajmi (disciple of Hasan), Malik-ibni Dinar, Abu Hanifa, Dawud-i-Tai, Bishri Hafi, Dhunnuni-Misri, Ibrahimi-Adham, Abu Yazid Bistami, Sari Saqti (uncle of Junayid), Abu Hafa, Marufi Karki, Abdul Qasim Junayid, and others.

After these arose different orders of Sufis who ascended the ladder through their moral and spiritual exertions.

The following are some of the schools of *ba-shara* Sufis:

Muhasabiyyah—founded by Abdullah Harith Muhasibi of Basra (*ob.* 243 A.H.). He distinguished *Hal* (state of ecstasy) from *Muqam* (station). *Hal* is secured by practice (*Mujahada*); and *Muqam* by the constant overshadowing of *Hal*. *Hal* is the gift of God, it is as fleeting as lightning. The beginning of *Muqam* is repentance. Harith did not consider *Raza* (submission) as a *maqam*; *Raza* is the disappearance of other-than-God (*Ma siwallah*). According to him, knowledge is superior to action. We know God by knowledge and not by actions.

Knowledge is an attribute of God and action that of *abd*, *Tafakkuru saatin khayun min ibaditis thaqalayn* (Contemplation of one moment is better than service in both the worlds). Sari Saqti, the uncle of Junayid, arranged the system of *Mugamat* and of *Ahwal*.

Qaysariyyah—founded by Saykh Qaysara ibin Hamdan. This sect was *Malamati*, i.e. they covered themselves with opprobrium and calumny, while inwardly at heart they were pure.

Tayfuriyyah—founded by Abu Yazid Tayfuri of Bistam (261 A.H.). He was styled Imam-ul-Ulama, as described in Bahr-ul-Maani. The doctrines of the sect consisted of *Sukr* and *Sahw*. *Sukr* (intoxication) is a state of ecstasy—a dream-like state, only that in a dream the senses are closed; and in *Sukr* they are active, that is, in *Sukr*, one enters the mithal world with his physical senses active and responsive to the Causal world, while in a true or veridical dream the avenues of

his senses are closed. In *Sukr* of a lower kind again, one is lost in the observation of the manifestation of attributes and names, that is, the attributes that he observes in and around himself, and also the personality or *dhats* of self and others, he takes and feels to be the attributes and *Dhat* of God in limitation, that is in manifestation; and thus loses the sense of materiality. In this state, prayer is not incumbent on him; which is the esoteric meaning of the Quranic injunction: *La taqrabus salata wa antum sukara* ("Do not approach Prayer when you are in intoxication"). In *Sahw*, he returns to the normal state with his experiences of *Sukr*. Ordinarily, the *Zahir* (the external) covers the *Batin* (the internal). In *Sukr*, the *Batin* overshadows the *Zahir*; in *Sahw* both are equipoised—both are present to the mind's eye, at one and the same time, so that while continuing to have his beatific vision, the *Abd* serves God as His slave.

Gulshan-i-Raz (line 347):

> ***Kasi Mardai taman ust kuz tamami***
> ***Kunad ba khwajagi kari ghulami.***
>
> **He is a perfect man who in all his perfection**
> **Does the work of a slave in spite of his lordliness.**

Junayid preferred *Sahw* to *Sukr*, as in the former man is in a proper state. In *Sukr*, one is permanent in himself and annihilated in his attributes. When the Prophet (Peace on him) threw a handful of dust at the enemy at the battle of Uhud, it was not he that threw it but God (*Maramayta iz ramayta wa la kinnallaha rama*)—Surat-ul-Anfal viii. 16. In *Sahw* one is permanent in himself as well as in his attributes. When David killed

Goliath it was said *Qatala Dawudu Jaluta*. The action of killing is referred to David himself.

Junaydiyyah—founded by Abi Qasim Junayid of Baghdad (297 A.H.). He was given the title of *Tawus-ul-Ulama* (the Peacock of Ulama). His *Tasawwuf* was based on *Sahw* and love, and his practice was contemplation (*Muraqaba*). He discarded *Sukr*, "for," he said, "we have no need of the company of those who are unsound." There is necessity for exertion, for the grace of God to flow towards us. He also said: "If you discard Satan, you give him an independent existence, which he has not."

Nuriyyah—founded by Abi Hasan ibni Muhammad Nuri (born at Baghdad and lived at Bagsu between Hirat and Merve, *ob.* 295). He said, "Know God through God." Solitariness is propinquity to Satan. He was called Nuri (one of light), because he had the faculty of reading other people's thoughts, wherefore he was also called "Jasus ul Qalb" (spy of the heart); or because his proofs were clear; or because, as some say, a dark room was illuminated, when he opened his lips. He was a disciple of Dhunnun-i-Misri. His principle was self-sacrifice. According to him, the world was a place for sacrifice: "You cannot reach happiness, until you give up the best of what you have" (*Lantana lul birra hatta tun fiqu mimma tuhibbun*)—Suratul-Ali-Imran iii. 89. When the Khalifa ordered Nuri, Ruqam, and Abu Hamza to be beheaded, Nuri stepped forward to be beheaded first.

Suhayliyyah—founded by Suhayl ibn Abdulla Tasturi. His *suluk* consisted of *Mujahada*. "Those

who labour in God's ways, we guide them to the right path" ("*Wallazina jahadu fina lanahdi yannahum subalana*")—Suratul Ankabut xxix. 67. His was the doctrine of salvation by work as opposed to Junayid's salvation by grace. The Prophet (Peace on him) after a certain battle said: "We return from the lesser Jihad to the greater Jihad" (*Rajatu ana min al jihad il asghari il-al-jihad-il-akbar*). Suhayl considered *mujahada* as a high road to *mushahada*. This is the way of *shariat*. But *Mujahada* is a fight with *nafs*—which is a manifestation of God *Man arafa nafsa hu fa qud arafa rubbahu* (He who understands his *nafs*, understands his God). You cannot kill *nafs*; but you can divert it into other channels just like *khatra*, whose transmission can be diverted from one *ism* to another. He who understands his *nafs* as transitory, understands his God as eternal. He who understands his *nafs* as *abd*, understands his God as *rub*. He who understands his *nafs* as "*Fed*" (*Marzuk*), understands his God as the feeder (*Razeq*). Suhayl was the man who correlated *Shariat* to *Tariqat*.

Vilayatiyyah. This sect was founded by Abi Abdulla ibni Hakim Tirmizi. *Vilayat* is derived from *vila*, "Victory," "greatness" (*Ala innal awliya allahi la klawfun alayhim wa la hum yahzuuun*)—Suratul Yunus x. 64. "Beware, there is no fear for the friends of God, and they shall not be sorry."

Walis are those who are annihilated in their selves, and are an eternal in the beatific vision. There are always 4000 *awliya* in the world, who keep it going; of these, in the order of ascendancy, are 300 *akhyar*, and of these latter 40 are *abrar*, of

these latter again, seven are *abdals*. Then 4 *autads*, 3 *naqibs*, and the head of them all is *Qutub* (the pole around which the existence turns), or *Ghaus*.

Kunnaziyyah—founded by Abu Said Khunnaz (*ob.* A.D. 890). He thought that *Fana* and *Baqa* were attributes.

Khafifiyyah—founded by Abi Abdullah Khafif. He was of royal blood, like Ibrahim-i-Adham, a *wali* of a former period. His doctrine was *Ghibat* and *Huzur*. This was to make the mind oblivious to *Masiwallah* (other-than-God); so much so that you become oblivious to your own existence, your own thoughts, and your own will; which in turn become the existence and thought and will of God. When you disappear from yourself (*Ghayb*), you appear before God (*Huzur*).

The *ayan* of the world, which are the extremest realities of the world, were similarly situated. Jami has expressed this idea thus:

> Hubbaza rozi ki pish az roz wa shab
> Farig az anduh wa azad az taab
> Muttafiq bu dim ba Shahi-i-Wujud
> Hukm-i-ghyriat bakulli mahu bud
> Bud ayani-jahan bi chand wa chun
> Zi imtiyazi ilmi wa ghari masun
> Na gahan dar jumbish amad parhi-jud
> Jumla ra az khud bi khud zahir namud.

> Excellent the time before day and night
> Devoid of trouble and free from fatigue,
> United were we with the King of Existence.
> The rule of separation was wholly melt,
> The ayan of the world were without number and similarity
> From distinction of knowledge and hiddenness protected.
> Suddenly the ocean of existence broke into waves
> And manifested all in Himself and out of Himself.

The *ayan* were thus in *ghayb* (absent) to themselves, but were in *huzur* (presence) in the knowledge of God. Husain ibni Mansur, Abu Bakr Shibli gave preference to *Ghayb* over *Huzur*; and

so in their moments of ecstasy they gave out such expressions as " I am the Truth " (" *Anal Haq* "). " There is none under this cloak except God " (*Laysa jubbati siwallah*). Others—and they are the vast majority—gave preference to *Huzur* over *Ghayb*, like Harith Muhasibi, Junayid, Suhayl, and Mohamed bin Khafif. These latter are those who take care of this world as well as of the next.

Siyariyyah—founded by Abi Abbas of Siyar (a village in Merv). They identified attributes with the *Dhat* of God, and differentiated His actions from Him. This is known as the doctrine of *Jama* and *Tafriqa*—assimilation and differentiation. In the matter of differentiation (*Tafriqa*), the Mutazilities differed from them, as they held that God sees by His own *Dhat*, knows by His own *Dhat*, hears by his own *Dhat*.

There are some sects, which are known as Sufis ; but which are removed from their inner court like the *Mujassamiyyah* (the Corporealists), the *Hululis* (Incarnationists), the *Tanasukkhis* (Transmigrationists). The first of these sects traces its origin to Abi Halman of Damascus ; and the second, to Munsur Abul Ghayz Hallaj (who lived in Iraq and was a contemporary of Junayid). The latter is to be distinguished from Mansur-i-Farsi of Baghdad, who was considered to be a Mulhid (atheist). The first Munsur gave out *Anal Haq* (I am the Truth). Hallaj simply meant that he was a manifestation of the Truth. For this very reason he was supported by Junayid. Although the *fatwa* of the former's execution was also signed by him, out of regard for the esoteric Shairat, Junayid said : " Munsur and I are one and the

same thing, only that madness has saved me, and reason ruined him (*Ana wal Hullaju shayun wahidun fa khallasani jununi wa ahlakahu aqluhu*).

Shaykh Abu Said Abul Khayr (440 A.H. = A.D. 1040), the *Murshid* of the famous Wali of Baghdad Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jilani (Pir Dastagir), considered him to be " a man of the secret. " The doctrine of *Tanasukh* (Transmigration) was that the soul transmigrated into another body,—re-incarnation (*Naskh*) ; or into the bodies of animals (*Maskh*) ; or into vegetables (*Faskh*), or into minerals (*Raskh*). Ahmad ibni-Sabit and his disciples Ahmad ibni Yabus, Abu Muslim of Khorassan, Shaykh ul Ishraq, Omar Khayyam were the exponents of the doctrine of re-incarnation basing their arguments on Suratul-Baqara. 61-92, Suratul Maidah 55, etc. Druses, who were the followers of Darazi were also believers in it. They even went to the length of saying that Christ had reappeared in the person of Salmani-Farsi ; and that Hamza had reappeared in the person of a son of Ali. Omar Khayyam even believed in *Maskh.*

Professor E. G. Browne says in his *Literary History of Persia* : " It is related that there was in Nishapur an old College, for the repairing of which donkeys were bringing bricks. One day, while the sage (Hakim, that is, Omar) was walking with a group of students, one of the donkeys would on no account enter (the College). When Omar saw this, he smiled, went up to the donkey and extemporised the following quatrain :

Ay rafta, wu baz amada bal hum gashta
Namat zi miyan-i-namha gum gashta
Nakhun hama jam amada, wa sum gashta
Rish az pasi kun, amada wa dum gashta.

O lost and now returned '*yet more stray*'
Thy name from men's remembrance passed away,
Thy nails have now combined to form thy hoofs,
Thy tail's a beard turned round the other way.

The donkey then entered; and they asked Omar the reason of this. He replied, 'The spirit which has now attached to the body of this ass (formerly) inhabited the body of a lecturer in the college; therefore it will not come in, until now when perceiving that its colleagues had recognized it, it was obliged to step inside.'"

The doctrine of transmigration was not, however, accepted by the Sufi mystics, who held that "it was an abomination to all Moslems". The doctrine of *Baruz*, in which the *ruh* of a departed saint could foster and cherish and guide the *ruh* of a living man was in favour with them. The *ruh* is neither within nor without the body; only its vision is on the body, the *ruh* of a departed "friend of God" could guide the *ruh* of a living man on whom it has fixed its vision.

The Sufis have a doctrine of their own which conflicts with the doctrine of transmigration as understood in other cults, viz. *Tajadd-dud-i-Amthal* (Revival of Similitudes). They hold that *tajalli* (illumination) has no repetition, thus contradicting the statement that history repeats itself. God's power is infinite, and He is exhaling out of the deeps of His Existence ever new forms, and ever new lives; there is no scope for the repetition of the same *tajalli*. There is ever a change in the atoms of the Cosmos, there is no reappearance of the same atom in the same place. *Balhum fi labsin min khalqin jadid* (*Suraul Qaf*—15). God manifests Himself in ever changing

garbs. *Wataral jibala jamidathun wu hiya tamarru marras sahab.* "You see the mountain as solid, although it runs like a cloud." This points to the modes of manifestation and not to metempsychosis.

Some others of the Bi-shara orders are Madaryyah of Zinda Shah Madar of Syria (whose shrine is at Makanpur in Oudh), Rafaiyyah, and Qalandayyah.

EARLY CONCEPTIONS OF SUFISM

"Creation," asserts the Qadri Sufi saint, "derives its existence from the radiance of God, and as at dawn the sun illumines the earth and the absence of its light is darkness, in the like manner all would be non-existent if there were no celestial radiance of the creation diffused in the Universe, as the light of the sun bears relation to the temporal or the perceptible side of life, so does the splendour of God to the celestial or occult phase of existence."

There are four stages, according to the early School of Sufis, through which the Initiate must pass before he attains the perfection which gains for him re-union with the Perfection which is God. Four veils obscure his sight and these are removed one by one as he nears perfection.

The first stage is Humanity called *Hast.* This is looked upon as a restraint for those who may be constitutionally weak and unfitted to attain the supreme heights of contemplation. The tenets of Islam and its laws must be faithfully observed.

Man is looked upon as a spark of the Divine and the soul of man is regarded as being in exile from its Creator, who is its spiritual home, and to whom it must return.

The second stage is called *Tarequt*, or the obtaining of potentiality. When this stage is reached, the neophyte dispenses with his helper and becomes a Sufi. At this stage the disciple may lay aside all religious observances and think only on the delights of contemplation. Some of the great Sufi masters disagree on this point, maintaining that the beginner has not had sufficient practice to have reached this advanced stage of the doctrine. Others affirm that it is possible in the first stage or *Hast*.

The third stage *Araff* signifies a condition of knowledge akin to inspiration. The novitiate has passed from the stage of learning and his eyes are now opened into the knowledge equal to that of the angels. He now possesses occult powers.

The fourth and final stage is *Haqequt*—Truth. This is the most difficult of all to attain. Only the utmost degree of purity and spiritual thought can make this possible. All desires, ambitions, and earthly ideas must be cast off, for now the man has become a saint. All four veils are removed and he is free to commune direct with God, the Divine Sun, of whom he is but a spark.

The final stage is generally completed in solitude far from the dwellings of man. The desert or jungle or away in the heights of great mountains the devotees find peace to contemplate without any outside interruptions. Thuswise is the best attained.

This life may seem to many but a waste of opportunity to do anything really worth while connected with earth, but the followers maintain that by study of things, the majority of people

have no time to think out for themselves, they not only attain great wisdom, but pass it on to others, thus fitting them for the higher life. Certainly these mystics do attain to a great degree of wisdom and Saintship. The hard rules of the life do not appeal to those who imagine by becoming Sufis they will gain exaltation.

Poets are believed to make the best Sufis for Poetry is the very essence of Sufism. In his flights of fond imagination, he attains very near to the ideal of Sufism, near to the Golden Gate of Wisdom and Life. His ideas bear him away from his old worn-out beliefs into the Divine beauty and radiance.

Perhaps this is why we find the expressions of Sufism so often told in poetry.

The poet Rumi began his exquisite poem which translated into English runs:

> Oh! hear the flute's sad tale again
> Of Separation I complain;
> E'er since it was my fate to be
> Thus cut off from my parent tree,
> Sweet moan I've made with pensive sigh
> While men and women join my cry.
>
> Man's life is like this hollow rod:
> One end is in the lips of God,
> And from the other sweet notes fall
> That to the mind the spirit call,
> And join us with the All in All.

Many of the words and terms used by the Sufis are not understood by the uninitiated. Perfume, for instance, is the hope of the Divine afflatus—Sleep, meditation or the perfection of God. Wine signifies devotion. The Sufis often speak of having drunk wine to insensibility. This is naturally misunderstood as it means so devout was their devotion to God that they were entirely under His

influence. The tavern is the place of prayer The tavern-keeper is the Spiritual Head or Leader Beauty is only spoken of in order to show the perfection of God. Inebriation and drunkenness typify the abstraction of the soul for material things.

The Sufi doctrine does not pretend to teach that provided all its tenets are observed, man becomes as God. On the contrary, this can never be. Man, by purging himself of all earthly desire and lust, rids the Heavenly spark in him of earthly things and is able thereby to return to God the original nucleus. So that naturally man relieved of his earthbound ideas and weaknesses, realizes that the part of him which is God simply returns home.

When the Great Mansur said in a fit of pure ecstasy, " I am Truth," meaning " I am God," the orthodox could not see the inference, and through giving voice to what they called blasphemy the Mansur had to pay forfeit with his life.

Evil say the Sufis is nothing but the circumstances by which human beings are surrounded. Man believes materialism to be real and this belief gives rise to all the wickedness in life. In the being of God it has no part—for it is but the imagination of the human mind unreal, phantasmagorical. These can be entirely dismissed when man forgets his frailties and thinks of himself as the spark which must be purified after the hideousness with which he alone has surrounded himself is forgotten and only the return to the Infinite dwelt on.

CHAPTER II

CARDINAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF SUFISM

EMBEDDED as the Islamic Sufism is in certain very definite articles of faith, and without which, according to the Moslem Sufis, he cannot reach the goal, the full details here given are very necessary to the proper appreciation of the subject.

A Sufi believing in the Islamic religion must have complete submission to Divine control in the mode and conduct of life, and implicit and unreserved obedience to laws revealed to man by God in preference to all our prepossessions, inclinations, or judgments—and believe that his religion is a religion which embraces all such religions that have been preached by teachers inspired by God in various ages and different countries. Thus the Quran says in this respect : " Say, we believe in God and in what has been revealed to us, as well as to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and their descendants ; we also believe in what was given to Moses, Jesus, and to all the prophets raised by the Creator of the Universe ; we accept all of them, without making any distinction among them."

He should consider that before the revelation of Al-Quran every nation while claiming Divine origin for its faith denied this privilege to creeds of all other nations. For instance, the Jews and the Christians believe that all the prophets and messengers that have appeared in the world have

come only from a single branch of the great human family, viz. the Israelites, and that God has always been so displeased with all the other nations of the world that, even finding them in errors and ignorance, He has never cared for them in the least.

This disposition of exclusiveness, which is not peculiar to the Church, or the Israelites, but is shared by the followers of almost all other religions. The God of the Sufi has not made any invidious distinction between different people. His sustenance is not limited to a particular age or a particular country. He is the sustainer of all people, the Lord of all ages, the King of all places and countries, the fountain head of all grace, the source of every power, physical and spiritual, the nourisher of all that is created and the supporter of all that exists. The grace of God encompasses the whole world and encircles all people and ages.

The powers and faculties which He granted to the ancient people of India were also granted to the Arabs, the Japanese and the various other members of Adam's family. For all, the Earth of God serves alike as a floor, and for the sake of all, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars give their light and perform such other functions as God has charged them with. All people alike derive benefit from air, water, fire, earth and other things created by God, and all equally use the produce of the earth, its corn, its herbs, its flowers and its fruit.

These are the broad Divine morals which give the Sufi a lesson that if no class or human race has been denied benefits of the water, the earth, the air and all other manifestations of Nature, why this equal and impartial providence has been dis-

believed in matters of revelation, which in fact is the most important and essential factor in the development of human faculties. It was a misconception of Divine providence and an error so fatal to the establishment of universal brotherhood of man, under which nations laboured from centuries to centuries till the last word of God appeared which in the very first falsified this wrong conception of partial dispensation. The Quran, his sacred book, commences with the words of glorification and thanksgiving to Allah, God, who is not only the maker and provider of India and Arabia, of Persia and Syria, of Europe and America, but is the Creator of the whole universe.

The words, the Sufi thinks, used here are so general that they include all the different people, different ages, and different countries. The opening of the holy Quran with a verse which is so broad, according to the Sufis, in its significance shows clearly that it refutes the doctrine which sets limits to the vast and unlimited sustenance of God reserving the manifestations of these attributes for a single people to the exclusion of all others, as if the latter were not the creation of God or as if after creating them God has utterly forgotten or thrown them away as useless and futile things. The opening verse of Al-Quran teaches the Sufi to believe that if the Creator and Provider of the whole universe has given means of physical growth equally to all men on the earth, He has also provided them with means of spiritual culture as well.

This doctrine inculcated by the Quran, believes the Sufi, infused a spirit of equality and fraternity

in mankind, destroying that narrowness of mind which has been disintegrating the whole fabric of human society and separating brother from brother under the universal fatherhood of God.

His teachings, he holds, prompts him to cherish feelings of love and reverence for Moses and Jesus. It enjoins upon him also to pay his respect and allegiance to all the good and pious men of the world. Hence, in accordance with the teachings of Al-Quran, Islamic Sufism, is the name of every religion, creed, or faith, which has been preached from time to time in different countries and various tribes by teachers inspired by God. They came from one and the same source and taught one and the same truth. But the hand of Time, combined with want of efficient means in olden days to preserve those teachings intact, afforded occasions and opportunities for human interpolations and wrong interpretations.

On the other hand, languages which were originally the conveyance of these ancient scriptures, being liable to constant changes, became obsolete, and set up unsurmountable hindrances in the way of coming generations to reach the spirit of old letters. Moreover, the development of human faculties and complications of evils—a necessary sequel to earthly civilization—called for new orders for things. This emergency brought forth prophet after prophet, thinks the Sufi, who came and restored truths already revealed and made necessary additions to meet the requirements of the age. As different races of mankind were distantly located and separated from each other by natural barriers, with very limited means of

intercourse between them, each nation needed its own prophet and so was it blessed—as Al-Quran says: "There was no nation but had its teacher." Again the Quran says: "Every nation had had its guide," and "A Divine messenger was sent to every class of men" (xxxv. 24 and x. 47).

He considers it his firm belief that the Divine wisdom was pleased to raise the last of its prophets in a place which occupied a central position in the known world and which possessed a language least susceptible to any change in form as well as meanings of its component words; a condition necessary for a language to become conveyance for the last word of God. Languages come to existence, and being subject to constant change in form and signification of its words, meet with the fate of a dead language. This makes ancient literature unintelligible and difficult to understand. Every language spoken on the surface of the earth has met or will meet with this fate, and if an exception can be made to this general rule it is, in favour of the language of Hedjaz, in which Al-Quran was revealed.

The peculiar conservative nature of Arabic, which makes it liable to change, gives it a special claim to become the throne of the last word of God. There is another peculiarity of this language, the suggestive and meaningful nature of its words. Arabic words to a Sufi strike themselves as eloquent. They do convey what, in other languages, need pages to explain They therefore are most suitable to convey occult conceptions. He quoted a few instances in support of his argument. For example, the word "sin." Theologies

of various religions and creeds differ in their conception of sin. But do the various words in different languages which stand equivalent to sin convey its theological and occult conception? Does the word sin or any of its synonyms in any language convey the church idea of sin? Does the Persian word *Gunah* convey the Zoroastrian conception of evil, on does the Sanskrit word *Pap* mean what is understood by wickedness in Vedas? But come to the Arabic language the Sufi invites you and its equivalents for sin in themselves convey what is taught in his creed about sin. Nothing, under the teaching of the Quran, is in itself right or wrong.

Everything created by God has its own particular use; keep it off that use and it is sin according to the Quran. And this is what the words *Junah, Zanb, Ism, Jurm,* and others, literally mean. Anything turned away from its proper place is *Junah.* Any abnormal growth is *Zanb,* anything cut from the main thing is *Jurm.* To strengthen or further his position the Sufi cites the word *Taubah,* which is an Arabic word for repentance. The word literally means to return to the point from which one has receded. This sin, according to his conception, means to return to that point. This is what is literally meant by the words *Junah* and *Taubah.* There are various other abstract truths in theology. Conception of God, of revelation, of angels, of prophet-hood, of evil, of virtue, of hell, of heaven, and of many other matters. To know the Islamic Sufi conceptions, you have simply to consider the meaning of Arabic words. They are sufficient clue. No other language

within my knowledge claims this peculiar richness of meaning, and therefore the Sufi considers that if the coming together of the different parts of the world into one whole demanded one cosmopolitan ideal if the old obedience to God was to be revealed in its perfect form once for all, it could not but be through the medium of the Arabic language with its symbolic phraseology.

Quran was revealed and it taught the same old Islam which had been preached by others before, considers the Sufi, and brought a book which recapitulated old truths in their unalloyed form with requisite additions as Al-Quran says : Al-Quran is nothing but the old books refined of human alloy, and contains transcendent truths embodied in all sacred scriptures with complete additions, necessary for the development of all human faculties. It repeats truths given in the Holy Vedas, in the Bible, in the words of the Gita, in the sayings of Buddha and all other prophets, and adds what was not in them, and gives new laws to meet the contingencies of the present time when the different members of God's family who lived apart from each other in the days of old revelations had come close on to the other. Al-Quran gives the Sufi rules and egulations adapted to the various needs and requirements of life. It is not merely a collection of moral precepts, or a book of rituals. To the Sufi it gives hin on the one hand true conception of Godhood and enlightens him as to great truths such as angels, revelations prophet-hood, future life, heaven and hell. On the other hand it supplies him with principles to guido him in social, economic and domestic affairs so that the whole

human society, by acting up to them may attain to its perfection on Sufi lines.

Al-Quran is not confined to prayers, fastings, and sacrifices. It is a complete code of life to the Sufi. If a king is ordered to observe certain laws to govern his country the subjects as well have been enjoined upon to pay allegiance to their ruler, foreign or otherwise. Similarly a law-giver, a statesman, a judge, a military officer, a merchant, a craftsman, a son, a father, a brother, a husband, a wife, a neighbour, a friend, the rich as well as the poor, in short, a person in various capacities and walks of life will find in it principles of guidance, to make him a useful member of society and a good citizen, and above all a true Sufi. This perfect teaching the Sufis could only find in the Quran and therefore they believe that the old occult love of Islam that was preached by generations of teachers saw its perfection in this final revelation in matters of law as the Quran says: " To-day the law is perfected for you."

One more aspect must be noted. " And we have not revealed to thee (O Muhammad) this book, but to explain away the differences (into which various sects have fallen) and give them true guidance," are the words of God. And who can deny the terrible differences which exist in various sects of one of the same religion? asks the Sufi, one can understand differences of opinion arising from differences of temperament. It may lead to the existence of several schools of thought. It cannot harm higher thought as far as its cardinal principles are taught in their pure integrity.

But what about various sects under various re-

ligions. They do differ from each other in their cardinal orinciples and yet they count upon one book as their final authority. There can be only one true creed. If God is the original source of all religion, if He has been gracious enough to reveal His mind from time to time, if He always chose one man to act as His mouthpiece and if His ways and laws do not admit of change, conditions obtaining in every religion after the advent of Christ demanded final decision in every religion. Decision not between Christian and non-Christian, but between Christian and Christian. Before the appearance of the Prophet of Arabia all these different sects did exist. It was necessary, argues the Sufi, that someone should come and restore the old original form of religion. This was done through Mohamed, the last messenger of God. For this reason the Quran calls itself *Hakam*—"judge," to decide between Christian and Christian, between Hindu and Hindu, between Buddhist and Buddhist, and so it did.

Furthermore, a Sufi believes himself to be an Israelite in following the ten commandments of God and the law of retribution with its legitimate bound He is a follower of Christ doing away with all the ritual of the Pharisees, and denouncing their hypocritical observances. He observes the law of mercy promulgated on the Mount of Olive, when it leads to reclamation His object is reformation through mercy or retribution as the case may be. He is an Arya Hindu in breaking images and a Sanaton Dharmi in paying respects to all the godly men of any nation and creed who have been called Avatars—incarnations of God. He is Buddhist in

preaching Nirvan, i.e. self-effacement as the key of salvation. He is Unitarian to establish the unity of God. In short, he embraces—through the Quran—every beauty in every religion and turns his face from what has been added to the religion of God by man.

The entire Sufi world, after accepting the cardinal principles of Islam, accept the Quran as the repository of the law recapitulating all necessary tenets revealed before Mohamed and for the explanation of the law they unanimously look only to Mohamed and to no one else, in whose actions and sayings they read the translation of the Quran.

THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTIC OF ISLAMIC SUFISM

The great characteristic of the Sufi thought, then, is that it requires its followers to believe that all the great religions of the world that prevailed before it were revealed by God; and thus it has indicated by its name as laid down the basis of peace and harmony among the thoughtful of the world. The great mission of Sufism was not, how ever, to preach this truth only, which on account of the isolations from each other of the different nations of the earth had not been preached before, but also to correct the errors which had crept in on account of the length of time, to sift truth from error, to preach the truths which had not been preached before on account of the special circumstances of a society or the early stage of its development, and, most important of all, to gather together in one frame the truths which were contained in any Divine revelation granted to any

people for the guidance of man. Thus as a distinctive characteristic of its own it claims to be the final and the most perfect expression of the will of God.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF SUFISM

The main principles of Islamic Sufism are given in the very beginning of the Quran, which opens with the words : " This book, there is no doubt in it, is a guidance for those who are careful in their duties---those who believe in the unseen and keep up prayers and out of what we have given them they spend and those who believe in what has been revealed to you and what was revealed before you and of the life to come they are sure." This verse points out the essential principles which must be accepted by those who would follow the Sufi Cult. In it there are three main points of belief and two main points of practice, or three theoretical and two practical ordinances. Before these points are taken up separately, I think it necessary to point out, as is indicated in this verse, that in Islam mere belief counts for nothing if not carried into practice. " Those who believe and do good " is the ever-recurring description of the righteous as given in the Quran. Right belief is the good seed which can only grow into a good tree if it receives nourishment from the soil in which it is placed. That nourishment is given by good deeds.

Another point necessary to be borne in mind in connection with the five principles of belief and practice mentioned in the verses quoted above is that they are, in one form or other, universally; accepted by the human race. The five principles

as already indicated are a belief in God, the great unseen, in Divine revelation and in the life to come, and, on the practical side, prayer to God, which is the source from which springs the love of God, and charity in its broadest sense, indicating respectively the performance of our duties to God and the performance of our duties to man and other creatures of God. These practices, of course, are obligatory upon every Sufi and are preliminaries to other practices to be mentioned later which particularize each section of Sufi.

FIRST CONCEPTION OF GOD IN ISLAMIC SUFISM

Of the three fundamental principles of belief, the first is a belief in God. The belief in a higher power than man, though not seen by him, explain the Sufi, can be traced back to remotest antiquity, to the earliest times to which history can take us, but different peoples in different ages and different countries have had different conceptions of the Divine Being. Islamic Sufism in the first place preaches a God who is above all tribal deities and national gods. The God of the Sufis is not the God of a particular nation, so that He should look after their needs only, but He is described in the opening words of the Holy Quran to be the " Lord of the worlds," and thus, while widening the conception of the Divine Being, it also enlarges the circle of the brotherhood of man so as to include all nations of the earth and thus widens the outlook of human sympathy. The unity of God is the great theme on which the Sufis lay great stress. There is absolute unity in Divine nature ; it admits of no participation or manifoldness.

Unity is the keynote to the conception of the Divine Being in Sufism. It denies all plurality of persons in Godhead and any participation of any being in the affairs of the world. His are the sublimest and most perfect attributes, but the attribute of mercy reigns over all. It is with the names Ar-Rahman and Ar-Rahim that every chapter of the Sufi literature opens. Beneficent and Merciful convey to the reader of it only a very imperfect idea of the deep and all-encompassing love and mercy of God which enfold all creation as indicated by the words Ar-Rahman and Ar-Rahim—i.e. " My mercy comprehends all conceivable things," says the Holy Quran (vii. 155). Hence the Messenger who preached this conception of the Divine Being is rightly called in the Literature, " a mercy to all the worlds " (xxi. 107).

The great apostle of the unity of God could not conceive of a God who was not the author of all that existed. Such detraction from His power and knowledge would have given a death-blow to the very loftiness and sublimity of the conception of the Divine Being. Thus ends one of the shorter chapters of the Quran : " He is Allah beside whom there is none who should be served, the Knower of the unseen and seen ; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is Allah beside whom there is no God, the King, the Holy, the Author of Peace, the Granter of Security, Guardian over all, the Mighty, the Restorer of every loss, the Possessor of every greatness ; High is Allah above what they set up with Him. He is Allah, the maker of all things, the Creator of all existence, the Fashioner of all images—His are the most excel-

lent and beautiful attributes (that man could imagine); everything that exists in the heavens or in the earth declares His glory and His perfection, and He is the mighty, the wise" (lix. 22–24). He is God, the All-Hearing, the All-Seeing, the Deliverer from every affliction, the Generous, the Gracious, the Forgiving, the Near-at-hand, who loves good and hates evil, who will take account of all human actions.

Thus while Islamic Sufism in common with other religions takes the existence of God for its basis, it differs from others in claiming absolute unity for the Divine Person, and in not placing any such limitation upon His power and knowledge as is involved in the idea of His not being the Creator of matter and soul or in His assumption of the form of a mortal human being. If the idea of the existence of God finds general acceptance among mankind, there is no reason why such a perfect and sublime conception of the Divine Being as is met with in Islamic Sufism should be repugnant to anybody, adds the Sufi.

UNITY

Unity of God is, as has been said, the one great theme of the Sufi Cult. The laws of nature which we find working in the universe, man's own nature, and the teachings of the messengers and teachers of yore are again and again appealed to as giving clear indications of the Unity of the Maker. Consider the creation of the innumerable heavenly bodies, the Sufi doctrine invites our attention: are they not with their apparent diversities all subject to one and the same law? Think over what you

see in the earth itself, its organic and inorganic worlds, the plant and animal life, the solid earth, the seas and the rivers, the great mountains: is there not unity in all this diversity? Think over your own nature, how your very colours and tongues differ from each other, yet in spite of all these differences are you not but a single people? Look at the constant change which everything in this universe is undergoing, the making and unmaking, the creation and recreation of all things, the course of which does not stop for a single instant: is there not a uniform law discernible in this?

If, in fact, you clearly observe uniformity in diversity in nature, do you not see therein a clear sign of the Unity of the Maker? Then look to the incontestable evidence of human nature, how even when believing in the plurality of gods, it recognizes a unity in the very plurality and thus bears testimony to the oneness of God. Again, turn over the pages of the sacred scriptures of any religion, search out the teachings of the great spiritual guides of all nations, they will all testify to the oneness of the Divine Being. In short, the laws of nature, the nature of man and the testimony of the righteous men of all ages all declare with one voice the Unity of God, and this is the cardinal doctrine of the spiritual teachings of the faith of the Sufi.

DIVINE REVELATION

The second fundamental principle of faith in the Islamic Sufism is a belief in the Divine revelation, not only a belief in the truth of the revealed Word of God as found in the Quran but a belief in the

truth of Divine revelation in all ages and to all nations of the earth. Divine revelation is the basis of all revealed religions and occult love, but the principle is accepted subject to various limitations. Some doctrines consider revelation to have been granted to mankind only once; others look upon it as limited to a particular people; while others still close the door of revelation after a certain time.

With the advent of his ideals, the Sufi avers, we find the same breadth of view introduced into the conception of Divine revelation as in the conception of the Divine Being. His Literature recognizes no limit of any kind to Divine revelation, neither in respect of time nor in respect of the nationality of the individual to whom it may be granted. It regards all people as having at one time or other received Divine revelation, and it announces the door of it to be open now or in the future in the same manner as it was open in the past.

Without the assistance of revelation from God no people could have ever attained to communion with God, and hence it was necessary that God, who being the Lord of the whole world supplied all men with their physical necessities, should have also brought to them His spiritual blessings. In this case too, Sufism, while sharing with other Cults the belief in the fact of Divine revelation, refuses to acknowledge the existence of any limitation as regards time or place.

There is also another aspect of the Sufi belief in Divine revelation in which it differs from some other religions of the world. It refuses to acknowledge the incarnation of the Divine Being. That the highest aim of a spiritual teaching is com-

munion with God is a fact universally recognized. According to Sufi this communion is not attained by bringing down God to man in the sense of incarnation, but by man rising gradually towards God by spiritual progress and the purification of his life from all sensual desires and low motives. The perfect one who reveals the face of God to the world is not the Divine Being in human form, but the human being whose person has become a manifestation of the Divine attributes by his own personality having been consumed in the fire of the love of God.

His example serves as an incentive and is a model for others to follow. He shows by his example how a mere mortal can attain to communion with God. Hence the broad principle of Sufism that no one is precluded from attaining communion with God and from being fed from the source of Divine revelation, and that any one can attain it by following the Holy Word of God as revealed in the Literature of His doctrine.

THE LIFE AFTER DEATH

Belief in a future life, in one form or another, is also common to all Cults of the world, and it is the third fundamental article of a Sufi's faith. The idea of a life after death was so obscure as late as the appearance of the Jewish religion that not only is not much of it found in the Old Testament, but an important Jewish sect actually denied any such state of existence. This fact was, however, due to much light not having been thrown upon it in earlier revelations. The belief in trans-migration was also due to the undeveloped mind of man

mistaking spiritual realities for physical facts. In Islamic Sufism the idea reached its perfection as did other important fundamental principles of ethics. Belief in a future life implies the accountability of man in another life for actions done in this life. The belief is no doubt a most valuable basis for the moral elevation of the world if properly understood. The following points are particularly laid stress on.

I. LIFE AFTER DEATH IS ONLY A CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE BELOW

The gulf that is generally interposed between this life and the life after death is the great obstacle in the solution of the mystery of the hereafter. Sufism makes that gulf disappear altogether: it makes the next life as only a continuation of the present life. On this point the Quran is explicit. It says: "We have in this very life bound the consequences of a man's deeds about his neck, and these hidden consequences we will bring to light on the day of resurrection in the form of a book wide open" (xvii. 14). And again it says: "He who is blind in this life shall also be blind in the next life—nay he shall be straying farther off from the path" (xvii. 74). And elsewhere we have: "O soul at rest! return to your Lord, He being pleased with you and you pleased with Him; so enter among My servants and enter into My paradise" (lxxix. 27). The first of these three verses makes it clear that the great facts which shall be brought to light on the day of resurrection shall not be anything new, but only a manifestation of what is hidden from the physical eye here.

The life after death is therefore, according to the Sufi doctrines, not a new life, but only a continuance of this life bringing its hidden realities into light. The two other quotations show that a condemned and heavenly life both begin in this world. The blindness of the next life is hell surely, but according to the verse quoted, only those who are blind here shall be blind hereafter, thus making it clear that the spiritual blindness of this life is the real hell and from here it is taken to the next life. Similarly it is the soul that has found perfect peace and rest that is made to enter into paradise at death, thus showing that the paradise of the next life is only a continuation of the peace and rest which a man enjoys spiritually in this life. Thus it is clear that, according to the Text of the Book, the next life is a continuation of this, and death is not an interruption but a connecting link, a door that opens out the hidden realities of this life.

2. STATE AFTER DEATH IS AN IMAGINE OF THE SPIRITUAL STATE OF THIS LIFE

Nowhere but in Islamic Sufism, say the Sufis, has the most significant truth with regard to the next life been brought to light. No attempt at all has been made in any spiritual teaching to unveil the secrets of the hereafter. No doubt in the Christian teaching the corporeal and the spiritual are melted together, the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth and the quenchless fire as the punishment of the wicked are spoken of in the same breath with the kingdom of heaven, the treasure in heaven and the life eternal as the reward of the righteous, but there is no clear

indication as to the sources of the one or the other, asserts the Sufi.

The Sufi, on the other hand, makes it clear that the state after death is a complete representation, a full and clear image, of our spiritual state in this life. Here the good or bad conditions of the deeds or beliefs of a man are latent within him, and their poison or panacea casts its influence upon him only secretly, but in the life to come they shall become manifest and clear as daylight. The shape which man's deeds and their consequences assume in this very life is not visible to the eye of man in this life, but in the next life it will be unrolled and laid open before him in all its clearness.

The pleasures and pains of the next life therefore will not be hidden from the ordinary eye. The blessings of the next life are mentioned by physical names as an evidence of their clear representation to the eye, they are on the other hand spoken of as things which " the eye has not seen, nor has ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man to conceive of them." This description of the blessings of the next life is really an explanation given by the Prophet himself of the verse of the Quran which says : " No soul knows the blessings and joys which have been kept secret for it " (xxxii. 17).

The following verse of the Quran, which may ordinarily be misunderstood, is far from describing the heavenly blessings as being identical with the things of this world. It runs thus : " Bear glad tidings to those who believe and do good that they shall have gardens beneath which rivers flow. So often as they are made to taste in that life of the

fruits thereof, they shall say: "These are the fruits which we were made to taste formerly; and they shall be given fruits resembling the fruits of the former life" (ii. 23). Now the fruits which the righteous are made to speak of as having tasted in this life could not possibly be the fruits of trees or the things of this life, according to the Sufi idea.

The verse, in fact, tells us that those who believe and do good works prepare a paradise with their own hands for themselves, with their good deeds for fruits. It is of the fruits of this garden that they are spiritually made to taste here, and of the same, only in a more palpable form, shall they eat in the next life. To the same effect another verse may be quoted from the Quran: "On that day you shall see the faithful men and the faithful women, their light running before them and on their right hands" (lvii. 12). This verse shows that the light of faith by which the righteous men and women were guided in this life, and which could here be seen only with the spiritual eye, shall be clearly seen going before the believers on the day of resurrection.

As in the case of the blessings of paradise, the punishment of hell is also an imagine of the spiritual tortures of this life. Hell is said to be a place where one shall neither live nor die (xx. 76). It should be remembered in this connection that the Word of God has described those who walk in error and wickedness as dead and lifeless, while the good it calls living. The Moslem mystic explain its secret by stating that the means of the life of those who are ignorant of God, being simply

eating and drinking and the satisfaction of physical desires, are entirely cut off at their death. Of spiritual food they have no share, and, therefore, while devoid of the true life, they shall be raised again to taste of the evil consequences of their evil deeds.

The following verse relating to the punishment of hell shows clearly that the spiritual torture of this world has been represented as physical punishment in the next. Says the Quran: "Lay ye hold on him, then put chains into his neck, then cast him into hell, then into a chain whose length is seventy cubits thrust him" (lxix. 30). The chain to be put into the neck represents the desires of this world which keep him with his head bent upon the earth, and it is these desires that shall assume the shape of a chain. Similarly the entanglements of this world shall be seen as chains in the feet. The heartburnings of this world shall likewise be clearly seen as flames of burning fire. The wicked one has, in fact, in this very world within himself a hell of the passions and inextinguishable desires of this world and feels the burning of that hell in the failures he meets with. When, therefore, he shall be cast farther off from his temporal desires his heartburning and bitter sighs for his dear desires shall assume the shape of burning fire. The Quran says: "And a barrier shall be passed between them and that which they desire," and this shall be the beginning of their torture (xxxiv. 53).

The thrusting into a chain of the length of seventy cubits reveals the same deep secret. The limit of man's life may as a general rule be fixed at seventy, and a wicked person often lives in his

wickedness up to that age. He would sometimes even enjoy seventy years excluding the periods of childhood and decrepitude. These seventy years, during which he could work with honesty, wisdom, and zeal, he wastes away only in the entanglements of the world and in following his own desires. He does not try to free himself from the chain of desires, and, therefore, in the next world the chain of the desires which he indulged in for seventy years shall be embodied into a chain seventy cubits in length, every cubit representing a year, in which the wicked one shall be fettered. Thus the punishment which shall overtake a man is one prepared by his own hands, and his own evil deeds become the source of his torture

3. NEXT LIFE IS A LIFE OF UNLIMITED PROGRESS

The third point of importance which throws light on the mystery of the life after death is that man is destined to make infinite progress in that life. Underlying this is the principle that the development of man's faculties as it takes place in this life, however unlimited, is not sealed by finality; but a much wider vista of the realms to be traversed opens out after death. Those who have wasted their opportunity in this life shall under the inevitable law which makes every man taste of what he has done be subjected to a course of treatment of the spiritual diseases which they have brought about with their own hands, and when the effect of the poison which vitiated their system has been nullified, and they are fit to start on the onward journey to the great goal, they shall no more be in hell.

This is the reason that the punishment of hell, according to the Sufi doctrine, is not everlasting. It is meant to clean a man of the dross which is a hindrance in his spiritual progress, and when that object has been effected its need vanishes. Nor is paradise a place to enjoy the blessings only of one's previous good deeds, but it is the starting point of the development of the faculties of man. Those in paradise shall not be idle, but they shall be continually exerting themselves to reach the higher stages. It is for this reason that they are taught to pray even there to their Lord, " O our Lord ! make perfect for us our light " (lxvii. 8).

This unceasing desire for perfection shows clearly that progress in paradise shall be endless. For when they shall have attained one excellence they shall see a higher stage of excellence, and considering that to which they shall have attained as imperfect shall desire the attainment of the higher excellence. This ceaseless desire for perfection shows that they shall be endlessly attaining to excellences.

BELIEF IN ANGELS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The three fundamental principles of that belief in the unseen also includes a belief in those agencies which we call angels. This belief, though common to many Cults, is not as widely accepted as the three principles explained above ; and, therefore, a few remarks relating to the truth underlying this belief will not be out of place here. In the physical world we find it is an established law that we stand in need of external agents notwithstanding the faculties and powers within us. The

eye has been given to us to see things, and it does see them, but not without the help of external light. The ear received the sound, but independently of the agency of air it cannot serve that purpose. Man, therefore, essentially stands in need of something besides what is within him, and as in the physical, so also in the spiritual world.

Just as our physical faculties are not by themselves sufficient to enable us to attain any object in the physical world without the assistance of other agents, so our own spiritual powers cannot by themselves lead us to do good or evil deeds, but here, toc, intermediaries which have an existence independent of our eternal spiritual powers are necessary to enable us to do good or evil deeds.

In other words, there are two attractions placed in the nature of man: the attraction to good, or to rise up to higher spheres of virtue, and the attraction to evil, or to stoop down to a kind of low, bestial life; but to bring these attractions into operation external agencies are needed, as they are needed in the case of the physical powers of man. The external agency which brings the attraction to good into work is called an angel, and that which assists in the working of the attraction to evil is called the devil. If we respond to the attraction for good we are following the Holy Spirit, and if we respond to the attraction for evil we are following Satan. The real significance of the belief in angels is, therefore, that we should follow the inviter to good or the attraction for good which is placed within us.

SIGNIFICANCE OF BELIEF

The above remarks explain not only the significance of a Sufi's belief in angels, but also the meaning underlying the very word belief. Belief, according to Sufism, is not only a conviction of the truth of a given proposition, but it is essentially the acceptance of a proposition as a basis for action. As already shown, the proposition of the existence of the devils is as true as that of the existence of the angels; but while belief in angels is again and again mentioned as part of a Moslem mystic's faith, nowhere are we required to believe in the devils. Both facts are equally true, and the Quran speaks on numerous occasions of the misleadings and insinuations of the devils, but while it requires a belief in angels it does not require a belief in the devils.

If belief in angels were only an equivalent to an admission of their existence, a belief in devils was an equal necessity. But it is not so. The reason is that whereas we are required to accept and follow the call of the inviter to good, we are not required to follow the call of the inviter to evil; and, therefore, as the former gives us a basis for action which the latter does not, we believe in the angels but not in the devils.

It would thus be seen that the principles of belief enumerated above as given in the Quran are really principles each of which serves as a basis for action, and no other belief is known to Sufism. These mystic beliefs are not formulae for repetition, but formulae for action. The word Allah—Arabic word for God—indicates that Being who possesses

all the perfect attributes, and when a Sufi is required to believe in Allah, he is really required to make himself the possessor of all those attributes of perfection. He has to set before himself the highest and purest ideal that the heart of man can conceive, and to make his conduct conform to that ideal. The belief in Divine revelation makes him accept and imitate all the good that is met with in the lives of righteous men, and the belief in the hereafter is equivalent to the recognition of that most important principle of the responsibility of man: his accountability for his actions. Thus the Islamic Sufi beliefs are really axiomatic truths upon which are based the moral and spiritual aspects of the life of man.

PRINCIPLES OF ACTION

Next we take the practical side of the faith of the Moslem Sufi. As has already been said, Sufism actions are as essentially a component part of Cult as belief. In this respect this philosophy occupies a middle position between religions which have ignored the practical side altogether and those which bind their followers to a very minute ritual. It sees the necessity of developing the faculties of man by giving general directions, and then leaves ample scope for the individual to exercise his judiciousness. Without a strong practical character any philosophical ideal is likely to pass into mere idealism, and it will cease to exercise influence on the practical life of man.

The precepts of Islamic Sufism which inculcate duties towards God and duties towards man are based on that deep knowledge of the human

nature which cannot be possessed but by the author of that nature. They cover the whole range of the different grades of the development of men, and are thus adapted to the requirements of different peoples. In the Quran are found guiding rules for the ordinary man of the world, as well as the philosopher, and for communities in the lowest grade of civilization as well as the highly civilized nations of the world. Practicality is the keynote of its precepts, and thus the same universality which marks its principles of faith is met with in its practical ordinances, suiting as they do the requirements of all ages and nations.

PRAYER

The verse of the Quran which I have quoted above forms, as mentioned above, the nucleus of the teachings of Islamic Sufism. Taken in the broadest sense, the two principles of action mentioned in that verse stand for the fulfilment of man's duties towards God and His duties towards man. Prayer to God is the essence of man's duties towards God. Prayer is an outpouring of the heart's sentiments, a devout supplication to God, and a reverential expression of the soul's sincerest desires before its Maker. In Sufism the idea of prayer, like all other religious ideas, finds its highest development. Prayer, according to the Quran, is the true means of that purification of the heart which is the only way to communion with God. It says: "Rehearse that which has been revealed to you of the book and be constant at prayer, for prayer restrains a man from that which is evil and blamable, and the glorifying of Allah

is surely a great thing" (xxix. 45). Sufism, therefore, enjoins prayer as a means of the moral elevation of man. Prayer degenerating into a mere ritual, into a lifeless and vapid ceremony gone through with insincerity of heart, is not the prayer enjoined. Such prayer is expressly denounced by the Quran: "Woe to the praying ones who are careless in their prayers, and who make only a show" (cvii. 4–6).

FASTING

Fasting is also enjoined by the Highest Book of the Sufis as a means to the purification of the soul. Fasting, however, does not mean abstaining from food only, but from every kind of evil. In fact, abstention from food is only a step to make a man realize that if he can, in obedience to God, abstain from that which is otherwise lawful, how much more necessary is it that he should abstain from the evil ways which are forbidden by God! That moral elevation is the object of this institution is clearly stated in the Quran, which says: "Fasting has been enjoined upon you . . . that you may learn to guard yourself against evil" (ii. 183).

PILGRIMAGE

The pilgrimage to Mecca represents the last stage in spiritual advancement of a Sufi. It represents the stage in which all the lower connections of man are entirely cut off, and, completely surrendering himself to Divine will, he sacrifices all his interests for His sake. The true lover finds his highest satisfaction in sacrificing his very heart and soul for the beloved one's sake, and the

circuit round the house of God is an emblem or external manifestation of it. The pilgrim shows by the external act of making a circuit round the Ka'ba that the fire of Divine love has been kindled within his heart, and like the true lover he makes circuits round the house of his beloved one He shows, in fact, that he has given up his own will and completely surrendered it to that of his beloved Master, and that he has sacrificed all his interests for His sake.

In the general assembly at the Mountain Arafat the pilgrims are commanded to remember Allah and ask pardon, for God is gracious and merciful.

It will thus be seen that all these Sufi precepts are only meant for the moral elevation of man. They do not lay down any institution which may be said to be the meaningless worship of God ; the aim and object of all the precepts it gives is the purification of the heart, so that thus purified man may enjoy communion with the Holy One who is the fountain-head of all purity.

MAN'S DUTIES TO HUMANITY

The second branch of the Islamic Sufism relates to man's duties towards man, but it should be borne in mind that both kinds of precepts are very closely inter-related. The moral elevation of man is its theme and the chief object which it has in view throughout, and all its precepts are only meant to raise humanity step by step to the highest moral elevation to which man can attain. " The person who violates his brother's right is not a believer in the Unity of God," is a teaching which deserves to be written in letters of gold

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SUFISM

In the first place, Sufism abolishes all invidious class distinctions. "Surely the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is he who is the most righteous of you," sounds a death-knell to all superiority or inferiority based on rigid caste and social distinctions. Mankind is but a family, according to the Quran, which says: "O men, we have created you all of a male and female and then made you tribes and families that you may know each other; surely the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is he who is the most careful of his duties" (xlix. 13). His Cult, so professes a Moslem Sufi, thus lays down the basis of a vast brotherhood in which all men and women, to whatever tribe or nation or caste they may belong and whatever be their profession or rank in society, the wealthy and the poor, have equal rights, and in which no one can trample upon the rights of his brother. In this brotherhood all members should treat each other as members of the same family. The slave is to be clothed with the clothing and fed with the food of his master, and he is not to be treated as a low or vile person. And this great brotherhood did not remain a brotherhood in theory, but became an actual living force by the noble example of the Prophet and his worthy successors and companions. The strict rule of brotherhood is laid down in the following words in a saying of the Prophet, the first Sufi: "No one of you is a believer in God until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself."

REVERENCE FOR AUTHORITY

But while thus establishing equality of rights, Sufism teaches the highest reverence for authority. The home is the real nursery in which the moral training of man begins; and, therefore, his Literature lays the greatest stress upon obedience to parents. Here is one of the passages of the Quran: " And your Lord has commanded that you shall not serve others than Him, and that to your parents you shall do good; if either or both of them reach old age with you, say not to them so much as ' uf,' and do not grumble at them but speak to them respectfully. And lower to them the wing of humility out of compassion, and say, ' O Lord, have compassion on them, as they brought me up when I was little ' "—(xvii. 23–24). It is elsewhere said that they should be disobeyed only if they compel one to serve others than God. This high reverence for parents is the basis from which springs up the high moral of reverence for all authority. And this the Quran plainly says: " Obey God and the Apostle and those who are in authority among you " (iv. 62). By those in authority are meant not only the actual rulers of a country, but all those who are in any way entrusted with authority. It has been remarked by the Great Sufi Prophet: " Every one of you is a ruler, and every one of you shall be questioned about those among whom he is in authority." Therefore, Sufism requires all men to obey those who are in immediate authority over them, and thus cuts at the root of all kinds of rebellion and anarchy. The person in authority may belong to any religion, but

he is to be obeyed in the same manner as the parents are to be obeyed, though they may not be believers in Islam. According to a tradition of the Prophet, even if a negro slave is placed in authority he must be obeyed.

CHARITY

Equality of rights and the highest reverence for authority are thus the basic principles of the Sufi society. Every religion of the world has preached charity and the giving of alms, but it is in Islamic Sufism only that it has been made obligatory and binding upon all those who accept the Muslim faith. Here we have a brotherhood into which the rich man cannot enter unless and until he is willing to give part of his possessions for the support of the poorer members of the brotherhood. There is no doubt that the rich man is not here confronted with the insuperable difficulty of the ideal test of the camel passing through the eye of the needle, but he is subjected to a practical test which not only makes him stand on the same footing with his poorest brother, but also requires him to pay a tax —a tax which is levied on the rich for the benefit of the poor.

Every one who possesses property above a certain limit is required to set apart a stated portion thereof. The portions so set apart should be collected by the State or the Imam, and the objects to which they must be devoted are enumerated in the following verse : " The alms are only for the poor and the needy and the servants appointed over them, and those whose hearts are made to incline to truth, and the ransoming of captives and those

in debt, and in the way of Allah, and the wayfarer" (ix. 60). The words, way of Allah, include every charitable purpose. Besides the contributions—the payment of which has thus been made obligatory by the Sufi Law, and made as compulsory as the saying of prayers—general charity is inculcated very forcibly throughout the Holy Book. Freeing the slaves and feeding the poor are again and again described to be deeds of the highest virtue. For instance, the Quran says: "What shall make you know what the great steep is? It is to free the captive or feed in time of famine an orphan who is a kin or a poor man who lies in the dust" (xc. 12–14).

SALVATION

It may be added here that salvation, according to the teachings of the Sufi Orders, is that state of perfection which is indicated in what is called the soul at rest, by which is understood that state of the soul in which it is not only delivered from the bondage of sin and freed from all weaknesses and frailties, but has further attained to high moral perfection, and is braced with spiritual strength. The state of salvation is generally expressed in the Law by the words: "They shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve." The state of salvation does not, therefore, relate only to life after death, but also to this life, and a man's salvation in the next life is only according to the state of salvation to which he had attained in this life.

It is entire submission to Allah, and the doing of good to His creatures that is the true source of salvation, according to the Sufi thought.

RESURRECTION

In this world every soul, good or bad, virtuous or wicked, shall be given a visible body, state the Sufis.

The day of resurrection is the day of the complete manifestation of God's glory when every one shall become perfectly aware of the existence of God. On that day every person shall have a complete and open reward of his actions. How this can be brought about is not a matter to wonder at, for God is All-Powerful and nothing is impossible for him, for when He could create man out of an insignificant thing at first He cannot be regarded as destitute of power in bringing him to life for a second time.

DAY OF JUDGMENT

It is a day on which Almighty God will judge His creatures according to the actions done in this life. The Quran says: "O men, fear your Lord and dread the day when a father shall not atone for his son, nor shall a son atone for his father in anything. Verily the promise of God is true. Therefore, let not the life of this world deceive you and let not the arch-deceiver (the devil) deceive you in respect of Allah" (xxxi. 33). "And We will set up a just balance on the day of judgment, so no soul shall be dealt with unjustly in the least; and though there be the weight of a grain of mustard seed yet will We bring it up and sufficient are We to take account" (xxi. 47).

DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSLEM SUFIS PRAYER

Salat, or the Prayer

The saying of prayer is obligatory upon every Moslem Sufi, male or female, five times daily—viz. early in the morning, a little after midday, in the afternoon, immediately after sunset and in the first part of the night, before going to bed. The service consists of two parts—one part to be said alone preferably in private, and the other in congregation, preferably in a mosque, but in case there is no congregation of Moslems, both parts may be performed alone. Each part consists of a number of Rak'at, as is explained below :

The morning or Fajar prayer consists of two Rak'at said alone, followed by two Rak'at said in congregation ; the midday or Zuhr prayer consists of four Rak'ats said alone, followed by four said in congregation, and these again followed by two Rak'at said alone ; the afternoon or Asar prayer consists of four Rak'at said in congregation ; the sunset or Maghrib prayer consists of three Rak'at said in congregation, followed by two said alone ; the night or Isha prayer consists of four Rak'at said in congregation, followed by two Rak'at, and again by three, said alone. Besides these, there is the Tahajjud or after-midnight prayer, which is not obligatory, consisting of eight Rak'at said in twos.

DESCRIPTION OF RAK'AT

One Rak'at is completed as follows :

I. Both hands are raised up to ears in a standing position, with the face towards the Qibla—i.e. Mecca—while the words *Allah-u-Akbur* (Allah is

the greatest of all) are uttered, and this is called the *Takbir-i-tahrima.*

II. Then comes Qiya'm. The right hand is placed upon the left over the breast while the standing position is maintained, and the following prayer is that which is generally adopted, though there are other prayers also.

It is pronounced thus :

Subhanaka Allahumm-a wa bi hamd-i-ka wa tabarak-Asm-u-ka wa ta'ala Jadd-u-ka wa la ila-ha ghair-u-ka ... Aoozu billa- hi min-ash-Shaitan-er-rajeem.

TRANSLATION

Glory to Thee, O Allah ! and Thine is the praise, and blessed is Thy Name and exalted is Thy Majesty, and there is none to be served besides Thee . . . I betake me for refuge to Allah against the accursed Satan.

After this the *Fatiah,* which runs as the following, is recited in the same position :

Bismillah-irrahman-irrahahim, Al-hamd-u lilliah-i-Rabbil-' Aalamin, Ar-rahman-ir-Rahim Malik-i-yaum-id-din, Iyyaka nabudu wa Iyyaka nasta'iin. Ihd-i-nas-sirat-al mustaqim Sirat-allazin-a a'namt-a'alaihim gair-il maghzoobi alaihim wa lazzaallin.

TRANSLATION

In the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful, All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of Worlds, the Beneficent, the Merciful ; Master of the time of requital (i.e. day of judgment). Thee do we serve and Thee do we beseech for help. Guide us in the right path. The path of those upon whom Thou hast bestowed favours. Not of those whom wrath has brought down, nor of those who astray.

At the close of the above is said A'men—i.e. Be it so—and then any portion of the Quran which the devotee has by heart is recited. Generally one of the shorter chapters at the close of the Holy Book is repeated, and the chapter termed *Al-Ikhlas* (sincerity) is the one recommended. This is as follows.

Qul mow-allah ahad Allah-us-Samad, Lam yalid wa lum yu lad wa lum yakun la-hu Kufuu-an ahad.

TRANSLATION

Say: He—Allah is one, Allah is He of Whom nothing is independent. He begets not, nor is He begotten; and and none is like Him.

III. Then, saying *Allah-u-Akbar* (Allah is the greatest of all), the devotee lowers his head down, so that the palms of the hands reach the knees. In this position, which is called *Rukoo*, words expressive of the Divine glory and majesty are repeated at least three times. They are the following:

Subhan-a Rabb-iy-al-Azim.

TRANSLATION

Glory to my Lord the Great.

IV. After this, the standing position is assumed, with the words:

Sami- Allah-u-liman hamidah. Babbana wa-lak-al-hamd.

TRANSLATION

Allah accepts him who gives praise to Him. O our Lord, Thine is the praise.

V. Then the devotee prostrates himself, the fingers of both feet, both knees, both hands, and the forehead touching the ground, and the following words expressing Divine greatness are uttered at least three times. This is the first *Sijdah*:

Subhan-a Rabb-iy-al, A'la.

TRANSLATION

Glory to my Lord, the most High.

Sometimes the following words may also be added to the above:

Subhana-ka Allahahumma rabba-na wa bi-hamdika Allahumma aghfirli.

TRANSLATION

O Allah! Thine is the praise. O Allah, grant us Thy protection.

VI. Then the devotee sits down in a reverential position. This is called the *Jalsa*.

VII. This is followed by second prostration, or the second *Sijdah*, as described above under V, with the repetition of the words three times given thereunder.

VIII. This finishes one Rak'at. The devotee then rises and assumes a standing position for the second Rak'at, which is finished in the same manner as the first, but instead of assuming a standing position after the second Rak'at, he sits down in a reverential position called the *Qa'da*, and with the glorification of the Divine Being combines prayers for the holy prophets, for the faithful and for himself, called the *Tahiyya*, which runs as follows :

At tahiyyat-u lillah-i was salawat-u wat-tay yebat-u, As-Salam-u alai-ka Ayyuhan-nabiyy-u wa rahmat ullah-i wa bara katuh As-salam-u alaina Wa' ala 'ibad-illah-is salihin. Wa ash-hadu al- la ilah-a illallahu wa ash-hadu anna Muhammadan abdu-hu wa resulu-hu.

TRANSLATION

All prayers and worship rendered through words, actions, and wealth are due to Allah. Peace be on you, O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Peace be on us and the righteous servants of Allah. And I bear witness that none deserve to be served but Allah. And I bear witness that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

IX. If the devotee intends to say more than two Rak'ats he stands, but if he has to say only two Rak'ats he repeats also the following prayer of blessings for the Prophet :

Allah-humma salli ala Muhammad-in wa' ala' ali Muhammad-in kama sallaita a'la Ibrahima wa ala ali Ibrahima inna-ka hamid-um majid. Allah-humma barik a'la Muhammad-in wa' ala a'l-i Muhammad-in kam a barak-ta a l'a Ibrahima wa a'la al-i Ibrahima inna-ka hamid-um majid.

TRANSLATION

O Allah! magnify Muhammad and the followers of Muhammad as Thou didst magnify Abraham and the the followers of Abraham, for surely Thou are praised and magnified. O Allah! bless Muhammad and the followers of Muhammad as Thou didst bless Abraham and the followers of Abraham for surely Thou are praised and magnified.

The following prayer may also be added to this:

Rabbij alni muqim-as-salat-i wa min zurriyati Rabbna wa taqabbal du'a. Rabban-aghfir-li wa li-wali-dayya wa lil-muminina yauma yaqumul his-ab.

TRANSLATION

My Lord! make me to keep up prayer and my off-springs, too; Our Lord! accept the prayer; Our Lord! grant Thy protection to me and to my parents and to the faithful on the day when the reckoning shall be taken.

X. This closes the service which ends at *Salam*, or the greeting, being also the greeting of the Moslems to each other. The devotee turns his head first to the right and then to the left, saying in each turn of head:

As-salam-u-alaikum wa rahmatullah-i.

TRANSLATION

Peace be with you and the mercy of Allah.

XI. Thus the service finishes if the devotee had to say only two Rak'ats, but if he had intended three or four Rak'ats, then after the *Quada* (see VIII), and repeating *Tahiyya* therein (see VIII), he takes standing position, and finishes the remaining one or two in the same manner (see I to VII), the last act being always prayer in the reverential mood, saying *tahayay* and prayer of blessings for the Prophet, etc., and the concluding prayer (see VIII and IX), to be followed by the *Salam*.

Besides this, the devotee is at liberty to pray in

any position as the yearning of his soul leads him to, for the *Salat* or the liturgical service of Islam is a prayer throughout. It is to be observed that in first standing up for prayer and in changing from one position to another, the devotee says *Allah-u-Akbar*, or " Allah is the greatest of all," and therefore it is only just that man should in all positions and places be truly submissive to Him, sitting, standing, bowing, and prostrating himself when he is called upon to do so by one who is the Greatest of all. Only when rising from the *Rukoo* (see III), he says, *Sami-Allah-u-liman hami dah*—i.e. " Allah accepts him who gives praises to Him," instead of *Allah-u-Akbar*.

XII. The prayer known as the *Qunut* is recited after rising from the *Rukoo* (see III) (or immediately before assuming that position) when standing, generally only in the last of the three last Rak'ats of the *'Isha* (night) prayer. The most well-known *Qunut* is the following :

Allahuma inna nasta'inuka wa nastaghfiruka wa numina bi-ka wa natawakkulu' alaika wa nusni a'laik al khair-a wa nashkuru-ka wa la nakfuru-ka wa nakhla'-u wa Natruku man yafjuru-ka Allahumma iyyaka na'bud-u wa laka nusalli wa nasjudu wa ilaika nasaa wa Nahfidu wa narju rahmataka wa nakhsho azabaka inna azabaka bil kuffari mulhiq.

TRANSLATION

O Allah ! we beseech Thy help. And ask Thy protection and believe in Thee, and trust on Thee, and we laud Thee in the best manner and we thank Thee. And we are not ungrateful to Thee, and we cast off and forsake him who disobeys Thee ! O Allah ! Thee do we serve and to Thee do we pray and make obeisance, and to Thee do we fly, and we are quick and we hope for Thy mercy and we fear Thy punishment, for surely Thy punishment overtakes the unbeliever.

CHAPTER III

IS RELIGION POSSIBLE WITH SUFISM ?

WHEN asked whether the strict religious observances can be practised as detailed in the previous part of the book, one of the greatest modern seers of Islamic Mysticism, Mohamed Iqbal, attested by replying to the question asking whether religion is possible.

Broadly speaking, he believes that religious life may be divided into three periods. These may be described as the periods of " Faith," " Thought," and " Discovery." In the first period religious life appears as a form of discipline which the individual or a whole people must accept as an unconditional command without any rational understanding of the ultimate meaning and purpose of that command. This attitude may be of great consequence in the social and political history of a people, but is not of much consequence in so far as the individual's inner growth and expansion is concerned. Perfect submission to discipline is followed by a rational understanding of the discipline and the ultimate source of its authority. In this period religious life seeks its foundation in a kind of metaphysics—a logically consistent view of the world with God as a part of that view. In the third period metaphysics is displaced by psychology, and religious life develops the ambition to come into direct contact with the ultimate Reality. It is here that religion becomes a matter

of personal assimilation of life and power; and the individual achieves a free personality, not by releasing himself from the fetters of the law, but by discovering the ultimate source of the law within the depths of his own consciousness. As in the words of a Muslim Sufi—" no understanding of the Holy Book is possible until it is actually revealed to the believer just as it was revealed to the Prophet." It is, then, in the sense of this last phase in the development of religious life that I use the word religion in the question that I propose to raise in this paper. Religion in this sense is known by the unfortunate name of Mysticism, which is supposed to be a life-denying, fact-avoiding attitude of mind directly opposed to the radically empirical outlook of our times. Yet higher religion, which is only a search for a larger life, is essentially experience and recognized the necessity of experience as its foundation long before science learnt to do so. It is a genuine effort to clarify human consciousness, and is, as such, as critical of its level of experience as Naturalism is of its own level.

As we all know, it was Kant who first raised the question: " Is metaphysics possible? " He answered this question in the negative; and his argument applies with equal force to the realities in which religion is especially interested. The manifold of sense, according to him, must fulfil certain formal conditions in order to constitute knowledge. The thing in itself is only a limiting idea. Its function is merely regulative. If there *is* some actuality corresponding to the idea it falls outside the boundaries of experience, and

consequently its existence cannot be rationally demonstrated. This verdict of Kant cannot be easily accepted. It may fairly be argued that in view of the more recent developments of science, such as the nature of matter as "bottled-up light waves," the idea of the universe as an act of thought, finiteness of space and time and Heisenberg's principle of indeterminancy in nature, the case for a system of rational theology is not so bad as Kant was led to think. But for the purposes of this paper it is unnecessary to consider this point in detail. As to the thing in itself, which is inaccessible to pure reason because of its falling beyond the boundaries of experience, Kant's verdict can be accepted only if we start with the assumption that all experience other than the normal level of experience is impossible. The only question, therefore, is whether the normal level is the only level of knowledge-yielding experience. Kant's view of the thing in itself and the thing as it appears to us very much determined the character of his question regarding the possibility of metaphysics. But what if the position, as understood by him, is reversed? The great Muslim Sufi philosopher, Muhyuddin Ibnul Arabi of Spain, has made the acute observation that God is a *percept;* the world is a *concept.* Another Muslim Sufi thinker and poet, Iraqi, insists on the plurality of space-orders and time-orders and speaks of a Divine Time and a Divine Space. It may be that what we call the external world is only an intellectual construction, and that there are other levels of human experience capable of being systematized by other orders of space and time—

levels in which concept and analysis do not play the same role as they do in the case of our normal experience. It may, however, be said that the level of experience to which concepts are inapplicable cannot yield any knowledge of a universal character; for concepts alone are capable of being socialized. The standpoint of the man who relies on religious experience for capturing Reality must always remain individual and incommunicable. This objection has some force if it is meant to insinuate that the mystic is wholly ruled by his traditional ways, attitudes and expectations. Conservatism is as bad in religion as in any other department of human activity. It destroys the ego's creative freedom and closes up the paths of fresh spiritual enterprise. This is the main reason why our mediæval mystic techniques can no longer produce original discoverers of ancient Truth. The fact, however, that religious experience is incommunicable does not mean that the religious man's pursuit is futile. Indeed, the incommunicability of religious experience gives us a clue to the ultimate nature of the ego. In our daily social intercourse we live and move in seclusion, as it were. We do not care to reach the inmost individuality of men. We treat them as mere functions, and approach them from those aspects of their identity which are capable of conceptual treatment. The climax of religious life, however, is the discovery of the ego as an individual deeper than his conceptually describable habitual self-hood. It is in contact with the Most Real that the ego discovers its uniqueness, its metaphysical status and the possibility of improvement in that

status. Strictly speaking, the experience which leads to this discovery is not a conceptually manageable intellectual fact; it is a vital fact, an attitude consequent on an inner biological transformation which cannot be captured in the net of logical categories. It can embody itself only in a world-making or world-shaking act; and in this form alone the content of this timeless experience can diffuse itself in the time-movement, and make itself effectively visible to the eye of history. It seems that the method of dealing with Reality by means of concepts is not at all a serious way of dealing with it. Science does not care whether its electron is a real entity or not. It may be a mere symbol, a mere convention. Religion, which is essentially a mode of actual living, is the only serious way of handling Reality. Science can afford to ignore metaphysics altogether, and may even believe it to be "a justified form of poetry," as Lange defined it, or "a legitimate play of grown-ups," as Nietzsche described it. But the religious expert who seeks to discover his personal status in the constitution of things cannot, in view of the final aim of his struggle, be satisfied with what science may regard as a vital lie, a mere "as-if" to regulate thought and conduct. In so far as the ultimate nature of Reality is concerned nothing is at stake in the venture of science; in the religious venture the whole career of the ego as an assimilative personal centre of life and experience is at stake. Conduct, which involves a decision of the ultimate fate of the agent, cannot be based on illusions. A wrong concept misleads the understanding; a wrong deed degrades the

whole man, and may eventually demolish the structure of the human ego. The mere concept affects life only partially; the deed is dynamically related to reality and issues from a generally constant attitude of the whole man towards reality. No doubt the deed, i.e. the control of psychological and physiological processes with a view to tune up the ego for an immediate contact with the ultimate Reality is, and cannot but be, individual in form and content; yet the deed, too, is liable to be socialized when others begin to live through it with a view to discover for themselves its effectiveness as a method of approaching the Real. The evidence of religious experts in all ages and countries is that there are potential types of consciousness lying close to our normal consciousness. If these types of consciousness open up possibilities of life-giving and knowledge-yielding experience the question of the possibility of religion as a form of higher experience is a perfectly legitimate one and demands our serious attention.

But, apart from the legitimacy of the question, there are important reasons why it should be raised at the present moment of the history of modern culture. In the first place, the scientific interest of the question. It seems that every culture has a form of Naturalism peculiar to its own world-feeling; and it further appears that every form of Naturalism ends in some sort of Atomism. We have Indian Atomism, Greek Atomism, Moslem Atomism, and Modern Atomism. Modern Atomism is, however, unique. Its amazing mathematics which sees the universe as an elaborate differential equation; and its physics which,

following its own methods, has been led to smash some of the old gods of its own temple, have already brought us to the point of asking the question whether the causality-bound aspect of nature is the whole truth about it? Is not the ultimate Reality invading our consciousness from some other direction as well? Is the purely intellectual method of overcoming nature the only method? "We have acknowledged," says Professor Eddington, "that the entities of physics can from their very nature form only a partial aspect of the reality. How are we to deal with the other part? It cannot be said that that other part concerns us less than the physical entities. Feelings, purpose, values, make up our consciousness as much as sense-impressions. We follow up the sense-impressions and find that they lead into an external world discussed by science; we follow up the other elements of our being and find that they lead—not into a world of space and time, but surely somewhere."

In the second place we have to look to the great practical importance of the question. The modern man with his philosophies of criticism and scientific specialism finds himself in a strange predicament. His Naturalism has given him an unprecedented control over the forces of nature, but has robbed him of faith in his own future. It is strange how the same idea affects different cultures differently. The formulation of the theory of evolution in the world of Islam brought into being Rumi's tremendous enthusiasm for the biological future of man. No cultured Moslem can read such passages as the following without a thrill of joy:

Low in the earth
I lived in realms of ore and stone;
And then I smiled in many-tinted flowers;
Then roving with the wild and wandering hours,
O'er earth and air and ocean's zone,
In a new birth,
I dived and flew,
And crept and ran,
And all the secret of my essence drew
Within a form that brought them all to view—
And lo, a Man!

And then my goal,
Beyond the clouds, beyond the sky,
In realms where none may change or die—
In angel form; and then away
Beyond the bounds of night and day,
And Life and Death, unseen or seen,
Where all that is hath ever been,
As One and Whole.
(*Rumi*: Thadani's Translation.)

On the other hand, the formulation of the same view of evolution with far greater precision in Europe has led to the belief that "there now appears to be no scientific basis for the idea that the present rich complexity of human endowment will ever be materially exceeded." That is how the modern man's secret despair hides itself behind the screen of scientific terminology. Nietzsche, although he thought that the idea of evolution did not justify the belief that man was unsurpassable, cannot be regarded as an exception in this respect. His enthusiasm for the future of man ended in the doctrine of eternal recurrence—perhaps the most hopeless idea of immortality ever formed by man. This eternal repetition is not eternal "becoming"; it is the same old idea of "being" masquerading as "becoming."

Thus, wholly overshadowed by the results of his intellectual activity, the modern man has ceased to live soulfully, i.e. from within. In the domain

of thought he is living in open conflict with himself; and in the domain of economic and political life he is living in open conflict with others. He finds himself unable to control his ruthless egoism and his infinite gold-hunger which is gradually killing all higher striving in him and bringing him nothing but life-weariness. Absorbed in the "fact," that is to say, the optically present source of sensation, he is entirely cut off from the unplumbed depths of his own being. In the wake of his systematic materialism has at last come that paralysis of energy which Huxley apprehended and deplored. The condition of things in the East is no better. The technique of mediæval mysticism by which religious life, in its higher manifestations, developed itself both in the East and in the West has now practically failed. And in the Moslem East it has, perhaps, done far greater havoc than anywhere else. For from reintegrating the forces of the average man's inner life, and thus preparing him for participation in the march of history, it has taught him a false renunciation and made him perfectly contented with his ignorance and spiritual thraldom. No wonder then that the modern Moslem in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia is led to seek fresh sources of energy in the creation of new loyalties, such as patriotism and nationalism which Nietzsche described as "sickness and unreason," and "the strongest force against culture." Disappointed of a purely religious method of spiritual renewal which alone brings us into touch with the everlasting fountain of life and power by expanding our thought and emotion, the modern Moslem fondly hopes to unlock fresh sources of energy by

narrowing down his thought and emotion. Modern atheistic socialism, which possesses all the fervour of a new religion, has a broader outlook; but having received its philosophical basis from the Hegelians of the left wing, it rises in revolt against the very source which could have given it strength and purpose. Both nationalism and atheistic socialism, at least in the present state of human adjustments, must draw upon the psychological forces of hate, suspicion, and resentment which tend to impoverish the soul of man and close up his hidden sources of spiritual energy. Neither the technique of mediæval mysticism nor nationalism nor atheistic socialism can cure the ills of a despairing humanity. Surely the present moment is one of great crisis in the history of modern culture. The modern world stands in need of biological renewal. And religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values.

As I have indicated before, religion as a deliberate enterprise to seize the ultimate principle of value and thereby to reintegrate the forces of one's

own personality, is a fact which cannot be denied. The whole religious literature of the world, including the records of specialists' personal experiences, though perhaps expressed in the thought-forms of an out-of-date psychology, is a standing testimony to it. These experiences are perfectly natural, like our normal experiences. The evidence is that they possess a cognitive value for the recipient, and, which is much more important, a capacity to centralize the forces of the ego and thereby to endow him with a new personality. The view that such experiences are neurotic or mystical will not finally settle the question of their meaning or value. If an outlook beyond physics is possible, we must courageously face the possibility, even though it may disturb or tend to modify our normal ways of life and thought. The interests of truth require that we must abandon our present attitude. It does not matter in the least if the religious attitude is originally determined by some kind of physiological disorder. George Fox may be a neurotic; but who can deny his purifying power in England's religious life of his day? Mohamed, we are told, was a psychopath. Well, if a psychopath has the power to give a fresh direction to the course of human history, it is a point of the highest psychological interest to search his original experience which has turned slaves into leaders of men, and has inspired the conduct and shaped the career of whole races of mankind. Judging from the various types of activity that emanated from the movement initiated by the Prophet of Islam, his spiritual tension and the kind of behaviour which issued from it, cannot be regarded as a response to a

mere fantasy inside his brain. It is impossible to understand it except as a response to an objective situation generative of new enthusiasms, new organizations, new starting-points. If we look at the matter from the standpoint of anthropology it appears that a psychopath is an important factor in the economy of humanity's social organization. His way is not to classify facts and discover causes: he thinks in terms of life and movement with a view to create new patterns of behaviour for mankind. No doubt he has his pitfalls and illusions just as the scientist who relies on sense-experience has his pitfalls and illusions. A careful study of his method, however, shows that he is not less alert than the scientist in the matter of eliminating the alloy of illusion from his experience.

The question for us outsiders is to find out an effective method of enquiry into the nature and significance of this extraordinary experience. The Arab historian Ibn Khaldun, who laid the foundations of modern scientific history, was the first to approach seriously this side of human psychology and reached what we now call the idea of the subliminal self. Later, Sir William Hamilton in England and Leibnitz in Germany, interested themselves in some of the more unknown phenomena of the mind. Jung, however, is probably right in thinking that the essential nature of religion is beyond the province of analytic psychology. In his discussion of the relation of analytic psychology to poetic art he tells us that the process of artistic *form* alone can be the object of psychology. The essential nature of art, according to him, cannot be the object of a psychological method

of approach. "'A similar distinction," says Jung, "must also be made in the realm of religion; there also a psychological consideration is permissible only in respect of the emotional and symbolical phenomena of a religion, wherein the essential nature of religion is in no way involved, as indeed it cannot be. For were this possible, not religion alone, but art also could be treated as a mere subdivision of psychology." Yet Jung has violated his own principle more than once in his writings. The result of this procedure is that instead of giving us a real insight into the essential nature of religion and its meaning for human personality, our modern psychology has given us quite a plethora of new theories which proceed on a complete misunderstanding of the nature of religion as revealed in its higher manifestations, and carry us in an entirely hopeless direction. The implication of these theories, on the whole, is that religion does not relate the human ego to any objective reality beyond himself; it is merely a kind of well-meaning biological device calculated to build barriers of an ethical nature round human society in order to protect the social fabric against the otherwise unrestrainable instincts of the ego. That is why, according to this newer psychology, Christianity has already fulfilled its biological mission, and it is impossible for the modern man to understand its original significance. Jung concludes:

"Most certainly we should still understand it, had our customs even a breath of ancient brutality, for we can hardly realize in this day the whirlwinds of the unchained libido which roared through the ancient Rome of the Cæsars. The civilized man of the present day seems very far removed from that. He has become merely neurotic.

So for us the necessities which brought forth Christianity have actually been lost, since we no longer understand their meaning. We do not know against what it had to protect us. For enlightened people the so-called religiousness has already approached very close to a neurosis. In the past two thousand years Christianity has done its work and has erected barriers of repression which protect us from the sight of our own sinfulness."

This is missing the whole point of higher religious life. Sexual self-restraint is only a preliminary stage in the ego's evolution. The ultimate purpose of religious life is to make this evolution move in a direction far more important to the destiny of the ego than the moral health of the social fabric which forms his present environment. The basic perception from which religious life moves forward is the present slender unity of the ego, his liability to dissolution, his amenability to re-formation and his capacity for an ampler freedom to create new situations in known and unknown environments. In view of this fundamental perception higher religious life fixes its gaze on experiences symbolic of those subtle movements of reality which seriously affect the destiny of the ego as a possibly permanent element in the constitution of reality. If we look at the matter from this point of view modern psychology has not yet touched even the outer fringe of religious life, and is still far from the richness and variety of what is called religious experience. In order to give you an idea of its richness and variety I quote here the substance of a passage from a great religious genius of the seventeenth century—Sheikh Ahmad of Sarhand—whose fearless analytical criticism of contemporary Sufism resulted in the development of a

new technique. All the various systems of Sufi technique in India came from Central Asia and Arabia; his is the only technique which crossed the Indian border and is still a living force in the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Asiatic Russia. I am afraid it is not possible for me to expound the real meaning of this passage in the language of modern psychology; for such language does not yet exist. Since, however, my object is simply to give you an idea of the infinite wealth of experience which the ego in his Divine quest has to sift and pass through, I may be excused for the apparently outlandish terminology which possesses a real substance of meaning, but which was formed under the inspiration of a religious psychology developed in the atmosphere of a different culture. Coming now to the passage. The experience of one Abdul Momin was described to the Sheikh as follows:

"Heavens and Earth and God's throne and Hell and Paradise have all ceased to exist for me. When I look round I find them nowhere. When I stand in the presence of somebody I see nobody before me: nay even my own being is lost to me. God is infinite. Nobody can encompass Him; and this is the extreme limit of spiritual experience. No saint has been able to go beyond this."

On this the Sheikh replied:

"The experience which is described has its origin in the ever-varying life of the *qalb*; and it appears to me that the recipient of it has not yet passed even one-fourth of the innumerable 'Stations' of the *Qalb*. The remaining three-fourths must be passed through in order to finish the experiences of this first 'Station' of spiritual life. Beyond this 'Station' there are other 'Stations' known as ***Ruh***, *Sirr-i-Khafi* and *Sirr-i-Akhfa*, each of these 'Stations' which together constitute what is technically called

Alam-i-Amr has its own characteristic states and experiences. After having passed through these 'Stations' the seeker of truth gradually receives the illuminations of 'Divine Names' and 'Divine Attributes' and finally the illuminations of the Divine Essence."

Whatever may be the psychological ground of the distinctions made in this passage it gives us at least some idea of a whole universe of inner experience as seen by a great reformer of Islamic Sufism. According to him this "*Alam-i-Amr*," i.e. "the world of directive energy," must be passed through before one reaches that unique experience which symbolizes the purely objective. This is the reason why I say that modern psychology has not yet touched even the outer fringe of the subject. Personally I do not at all feel hopeful of the present state of things in either biology or psychology. Mere analytical criticism with some understanding of the organic conditions of the imagery in which religious life has sometimes manifested itself is not likely to carry us to the living roots of human personality. Assuming that sex-imagery has played a role in the history of religion, or that religion has furnished imaginative means of escape from, or adjustment to, an unpleasant reality, these ways of looking at the matter cannot, in the least, affect the ultimate aim of religious life, that is to say, the reconstruction of the finite ego by bringing him into contact with an eternal life-process, and thus giving him a metaphysical status of which we can have only a partial understanding in the half-choking atmosphere of our present environment. If, therefore, the science of psychology is ever likely to possess a real significance for the life of mankind

it must develop an independent method calculated to discover a new technique better suited to the temper of our times. Perhaps a psychopath endowed with a great intellect—the combination is not an impossibility—may give us a clue to such a technique. In modern Europe Nietzsche, whose life and activity form, at least to us Easterns, an exceedingly interesting problem in religious psychology, was endowed with some sort of a constitutional equipment for such an undertaking. His mental history is not without a parallel in the history of Eastern Sufism. That a really " imperative " vision of the Divine in man did come to him cannot be denied. I call his vision " imperative " because it appears to have given him a kind of prophetic mentality which, by some kind of technique, aims at turning its visions into permanent life-forces. Yet Nietzsche was a failure ; and his failure was mainly due to his intellectual progenitors such as Schopenhauer, Darwin, and Lange whose influence completely blinded him to the real significance of his vision. Instead of looking for a spiritual rule which would develop the Divine even in a plebeian and thus open up before him an infinite future, Nietzsche was driven to seek the realization of his vision in such schemes as aristocratic radicalism. As I have said of him elsewhere :

> **" The ' I am ' which he seeketh,**
> **Lieth beyond philosophy, beyond knowledge.**
> **The plant that groweth only from the invisible soil of the heart of man,**
> **Groweth not from a mere heap of clay ! "**

Thus failed a genius whose vision was solely determined by his internal forces, and remained unproductive for want of expert external guidance

in his spiritual life. And the irony of fate is that this man, who appeared to his friends "as if he had come from a country where no man lived," was fully conscious of his great spiritual need. "I confront alone," he says, "an immense problem: it is as if I am lost in a forest, a primeval one. I need help. I need disciples: I need a *master*. It would be so sweet to obey." And again—"why do I not find among the living men who see higher than I do and have to look down on me? Is it only that I have made a poor search? And I have so great a longing for such."

The truth is that the religious and the scientific processes, though involving different methods, are identical in their final aim. Both aim at reaching the most real. In fact, religion, for reasons which I have mentioned before, is far more anxious to reach the ultimately real than science. And to both the way to pure objectivity lies through what may be called the purification of experience. In order to understand this we must make a distinction between experience as a natural fact, significant of the normally observable behaviour of reality, and experience as significant of the inner nature of reality. As a natural fact it is explained in the light of its antecedents, psychological and physiological; as significant of the inner nature of reality we shall have to apply criteria of a different kind to clarify its meaning. In the domain of science we try to understand its meaning in reference to the external *behaviour* of reality; in the domain of religion we take it as representative of some kind of reality and try to discover its meanings in reference mainly to the inner *nature* of that

reality. The scientific and the religious processes are in a sense parallel to each other. Both are really descriptions of the same world with this difference only that in the scientific process the ego's standpoint is necessarily exclusive, whereas in the religious process the ego integrates its competing tendencies and develops a single inclusive attitude resulting in a kind of synthetic transfiguration of his experiences. A careful study of the nature and purpose of these really complementary processes shows that both of them are directed to the purification of experience in their respective spheres. An illustration will make my meaning clear. Hume's criticism of our notion of cause must be considered as a chapter in the history of science rather than that of philosophy. True to the spirit of scientific empiricism we are not entitled to work with any concepts of a subjective nature. The point of Hume's criticism is to emancipate empirical science from the concept of force which, as he urges, has no foundation in sense-experience. This was the first attempt of the modern mind to purify the scientific process.

Einstein's mathematical view of the universe completes the process of purification started by Hume, and, true to the spirit of Hume's criticism, dispenses with the concept of force altogether. The passage I have quoted from the great Indian saint shows that the practical student of religious psychology has a similar purification in view. His sense of objectivity is as keen as that of the scientist in his own sphere of objectivity. He passes from experience to experience, not as a mere spectator, but as a critical sifter of experience who

by the rules of a peculiar technique, suited to his sphere of enquiry, endeavours to eliminate all subjective elements, psychological or physiological, in the content of his experience with a view finally to reach what is absolutely objective. This final experience is the revelation of a new life-process—original, essential, spontaneous. The eternal secret of the ego is that the moment he reaches this final revelation he recognizes it as the ultimate root of his being without the slightest hesitation. Yet in the experience itself there is no mystery. Nor is there anything emotional in it. Indeed with a view to secure a wholly non-emotional experience the technique of Islamic Sufism at least takes good care to forbid the use of music in worship, and to emphasize the necessity of daily congregational prayers in order to counteract the possible anti-social effects of solitary contemplation. Thus the experience reached is a perfectly natural experience and possesses a biological significance of the highest importance to the ego. It is the human ego rising higher than mere reflection, and mending its transiency by appropriating the eternal. The only danger to which the ego is exposed in this Divine quest is the possible relaxation of his activity caused by his enjoyment of and absorption in the experiences that precede the final experience. The history of Eastern Sufism shows that this is a real danger. This was the whole point of the reform movement initiated by the great Indian saint from whose writings I have already quoted a passage. And the reason is obvious. The ultimate aim of the ego is not to *see* something, but to *be* something. It is in the ego's

effort to *be* something that he discovers his final opportunity to sharpen his objectivity and acquire a more fundamental " I am " which finds evidence of its reality not in the Cartesian " I think " but in the Kantian " I can ". The end of the ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it. The final act is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is, not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and re-made by continuous action. It is a moment of supreme bliss and also a moment of the greatest trial for the ego:

> Art thou in the stage of " life," " death " or " death-in-life " ?
> Invoke the aid of three witnesses to verify thy " Station."
> The first witness is thine own consciousness—
> See thyself, then, with thine own light.
> The second witness is the consciousness of another ego—
> See thyself, then, with the light of an ego other than thee.
> The third witness is God's consciousness—
> See thyself, then, with God's light.
> If thou standest unshaken in front of this light,
> Consider thyself as living and eternal as He!
> That man alone is real who dares—
> Dares to see God face to face!
> What is " Ascension " ? Only a search for a witness
> Who may finally confirm thy reality—
> A witness whose confirmation alone makes thee eternal.
> No one can stand unshaken in His Presence;
> And he who can, verily, he is pure gold.
> Art thou a mere particle of dust ?
> Tighten the knot of thy ego;
> And hold fast to thy tiny being!
> How glorious to burnish one's ego
> And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun!
> Re-chisel, then, thine ancient frame;
> And build up a new being.
> Such being is real being;
> Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke!

CHAPTER IV

THE NAQSHBUNDI ORDER

HADRAT SHEIKH AHMED SAID MUJADADI of Naqshbundi Order of the Sufis says in his *Arbaa Anhar* that according to the Majaddad Alfisani, who was born in 917 A.H. and died in 1034 A.H. at the age of ninety years, man is composed of ten worthy elements; but neither this Mystery of Elements nor the Relationship of the Sufi Wayfarer with the Divine Essence can be appreciated without a full knowledge of the history of this ancient Order, indeed, so ancient that from it most of the other better known orders take their origin.

Mohamed Bahauddin Naqshbund, after which the Naqshbundi Sufi Order is known, says the Turkish work of antiquity entitled Rashahat-Ain-al-Hayat—or Drops from the Fountain of Life— gave the Order those Spirtual Doctrines which distinguish it from other cults. It is alleged on good authority that Naqshbund was his surname, and that he was the author of a work called *Maqamat* —STATIONS—and another one written under his own name as the Prayers of Baha. He died in 791 A.H. (A.D. 1389–90).

The author of *Shaqqaq Numania* gives the following Silsila, or the succession of the Naqshbundi Order: that

" the Sheikh Bayazid Bustami has it from the Imam Ja'far Sadiq, who has it from the Imam Muhammad

Baqir, who has it from the Imam Zain-ul-'Abidin, who has it from the Imam Husair, who has it from 'Ali (fourth Caliph), who has it from the Prophet of Allah,—that Bayazid Bustami was born after the decease of the Imam Ja'far Sadiq, and, by the force of the will of the latter, received spiritual instruction from him. Imam Ja'far also spiritualized Qasim bin-Muhammad bin-Abu-Bakr us-Sadiq [Siddiq]. He was one of the seven doctors of Divine Law, and derived his spirituality through the mystic will of Salman Farsi. The latter enjoyed direct intercourse with the blessed Prophet of God, and beside this peculiar honour, received instruction (*tarbiyat*) from Abu-Bakr us-Sadiq [Siddiq] (second Caliph). When these were concealed together in the cave, and there conversed with the Prophet, they all performed the secret *zikr* (called upon God's name mentally), seated on their hips, with depressed eyes, repeating it three times.

"After the decease of Bayazid Bistami [in A.D. 877–78] Abu'l Hasan Khurqani was born.

"Sheikh Abu'l Qasim Kerkiani [Gurgani] has connection with both of these. According to this statement Abu'l Hasan Khurqani was employed in their service.

"Sheikh Abu'l 'Usman Maghribi received instruction from them,—Abu Ali Reduhari [?Rudbari] from them also; from them came the spiritual powers of Junaid Baghdadi [d. in A.D. 911], from him to Sari Saqati, [and] from him to Ma'ruf Karkhi [d. in A.D. 816].

"The latter also had two sources of descent,—the one, Da'ud Ta'i; from them came Habib Sajami ['Ajami], from him Hasan Basri, and these all received their spirituality from the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali. Ma'ruf Karkhi drew [his spirituality] from 'Ali Riza; he from the Imam Musa Kazim,—he from Ja'far us-Sadiq.

"The continuation of the descent is as follows: Abu'l Qasim Gurgani left his powers to his pupil, Khoja 'Ali Farmandi [Farmadi]; his *khalifa* (successor) was Khoja Yusuf Hamadani—that of the latter was his own servant 'Abd-ul-Khaliq Gajdivani [Ghajdawani]; after him Khoja 'Arif Rivkari [Reogari]; after him Muhammad Fagnawi; after him 'Ali Rametni [Ramitani]; after him Muhammad Baba Sammasi; after him the Amir Sa'id Gulan (or Kalal); after him the Khoja Baha-ud-Din Naqshband; after him Alai-ud-Din al-'Attar; after him Nizam-ud-Din Khamush;

after him Sultan [Sa'id] -ud-Din al-Kashgari; after him 'Ubaid-Ullah Samarqandi; after him Shaikh 'Abdullah al-Lahi; after him Shaikh Sa'id Ahmad al-Bukhari; after him Shaikh Muhammad Chalabi, nephew of Aziz; after him Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Latif, nephew of Muhammad Chalabi—may Allah bless their secrets.

"From the Naqshbandi Order evidently sprang the Order of the Nurbakhshis; for the same author adds that the Amir Sultan Shams-ud-Din derived from Sa'id 'Ali, father of Muhammad bin-'Ali-al-Husaini al-Bukhari; they derived from the Sa'id Muhammad Nurbakhshi. The *khalifa* of Amir Bukhara, Hasan Khoja [of] Van's *khalifa* Wali Shams-ud-Din, are mentioned in the Shaqqaiq. These derived from Ishaq Jalali, he from Sa'id 'Ali Hamadani, he from Muhammad Kharqani, he from Alai-ud-Daulat Samnani, he from 'Abd-ur-Rahman Asfarani, he from Ahmad Jurqani, he from 'Ali bin-Sa'id Lala, he from Najm-ud-Din Qubra, he from 'Umar bin Yazir Badlisi, he from Abu'l Najib Suharwardi and down through the whole succession."

The same author [on p. 8 of Ajdi'a *Tarjuma*, as lithographed], in alluding to the Khwajas of the Naqshbandis, says:

"This people (*taifa*) polish the exterior of their minds and intellects with pictures, and being free from the rust and wiles of life are not of those who are captivated by the vain colourings of the world, as varied as those of the changeful chameleon; and as Naqshband drew incomparable pictures of the Divine Science, and painted figures of the Eternal Invention, which are not imperceptible, his followers are become celebrated by the title of the *Naqshbandis*, 'The Painters'."

In order to trace the history of the Order further, the link is connected with Abu Ali al Fazl b. Mohamed al-Famadhi, whose account is met with in Kushful Mahjub. He died in 470 A.H. (1078 A.D.) and regarding whom and others we read more in the volumes of the Indian Antiquary, that the Khilifa of the above-mentioned Sufi or the

Spiritual Successor was Khaja Abu Yusuf Hamadani.

Yusuf Hamadani (A.D. 1048–1140). In the *Rashahat* Yusuf Hamadani is assigned three *khalifas*: (1) Khwaja 'Abdulla Barqi, (2) Hasan Andaqi, and (3) Ahmad Yasawi, who died in A.D. 1166–67 or perhaps in 562 H. (A.D. 1169). Ahmad Yasawi was a saint of great importance. His disciple Luqman al-Khurasani taught Muhammad 'Ata bin Ibrahim, called Haji Bektash, subsequently the patron saint of the Janissaries. The date of his death is uncertain, but it occurred in the fourteenth century A.D.

Khwaja 'Abd-ul-Khaliq Ghujduwani (son of Imam 'Abdul-Jamil and one of the best-known Naqshbandis), born at Ghujduwan, six *farsakhs* from Bukhara, in the twelfth century A.D. He died in 575 H. (A.D. 1179–80). Except that he studied under Shaikh Abu Yusuf little is, however, really known of him, though MSS. of his works exist. He laid down eight rules, which constitute the *tariqa* of the Khwajas, but three more were afterwards introduced. They include *khilwat dar anjuman, safr dar watn*, etc., which are explained in a mystic sense.

'Arif Rewgari, who took his title from Rewgar, a place six *farsakhs* from Bukhara. His death is assigned to 715 H., but, as Hartmann points out, this cannot be correct, as his *pir* died in 575 H., and assuming that he received the gift of ' light ' from him at the early age of ten, he must have been 150 years old when he died!

Muhammad Faghnawi, who appears in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as Khwaja Mahmud 'Anjir Fagh-

rawi. His correct name seems to have been (Khoja) Mahmud Anjir(i) Faghnawi, from his birthplace, Faghn, three *farsakhs* from Bukhara. But he lived in Wabkan, where his grave also is. There is much uncertainty as to the meaning of 'Anjir, and also about the date of the saint's death, which is assigned to 670 H. or to 715 H. (A.D. 1272 or 1316).

The Khoja Azizan Shaikh 'Ali Ramitani, who died in 705 or 721 H. (A.D. 1306 or 1321), and took his title from Ramitan (the name is variously spelt) near Bukhara. He was also styled Piri Nassaj.

Khwaja Muhammad Baba-i-Samasi, of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 401. The Koja Muhammad Babaji Samasi was born in Samasi, a dependency of Ramitan lying three *farsakhs* from Bukhara, and died in 740 or 755 H. (A.D. 1340 or 1354).

Amir Saiyid Kalal. His true name was probably Saiyid Amir Kulal Sokhari, from Sokhar, two *farsakhs* from Bukhara, where he was born and buried. He worked as a potter (*kulal*), and is said to have been also styled Ibn Saiyid Hamza. He died in 772 H. (A.D. 1371).

The Khoja Baha-ud-Din Naqshband was born in 718 H. (A.D. 1318) and died in 791 H. (A.D. 1389–90) at the age of 73.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE NAQSHBANDIS

We now come to a crisis in the history of the Naqshbundi Order, which so far has not been explained. According to the *Rashahat* its real founder was the saint Khwaja 'Ubaidullah, by name Nasir-ud-Din, but commonly known as the Khwaja

Ahrar or Hazrat Ishan. This work makes Baha-ud-Din Naqshband merely a learned expositor of the principles of the Order. Yet it ascribes Khwaja Ahrar's investiture to Ya'qub Charkhi, himself a disciple of Baha-ud-Din. Other authorities, however, ignore Ya'qub Charkhi and make Khawja Ahrar 5th, not 3rd in spiritual descent from Baha-ud-Din, thus:

Baha-ud-Din Naqshband.

Alai-ud-Din al-Attar.

Nizam-ud-Din Khamush. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* speaks of a Maulana Nizam-ud-Din Khamush or -I.

Sultan-ud-Din al-Kashghari (but his real name was almost certainly Sa'id-ud-Din, and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* calls him Sa'd-ud-Din). He is, however, sometimes described not as a disciple of Nizam-ud-Din Khamush, but of Saiyid Sharif 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Jurjani, who died in 816 H. (A.D. 1414), and was the author of the *Sharh* Muwaqif (*Nafahat al-Uns*, pp. 6, 2–3).

'Ubaid-ullah Samarqandi (Khwaja Ahrar).

An authority again assigns not only Alai-ud-Din and Ya'qub Jarhi (Charkhi obviously) as disciples or rather successors to Baha-ud-Din, but also gives him a third successor in Nasr-ud-Din of Tashkand. Thus it seems clear that the Order began to show symptoms of disruption on the death of Baha-ud-Din. Le Chatelier, however, says that it was under the pontificate of Nasr-ud-Din Tashkandi (who is not at all generally recognized as a *khalifa* of Baha-ud-Din) that the Order split up into two branches, that of the West under him as Grand Master, and the other of the East under another *khalifa*. Sultan-ud-Din al-Kashghari. But the Turkish

versions of the pedigree seem to acknowledge only the last named.

THE WESTERN NAQSHBANDIS

Of the fate of the Western Naqshbandis little seems to be recorded in Turkish literature. From 'Ubaid-ullah al-Samarqandi the " descent " passes to Sh. 'Abdullah Alahi (as he was known in poetry), Arif billah 'Abdullah, " the God-knowing servant of God ", of Simaw. He followed the jurisprudent 'Ali of Tus to Persia, quitting Constantinople ; and devoted himself to the secular sciences until he was impelled to destroy all his books. His teacher, however, induced him to sell them all with the exception of one containing the dealings of the Saints, and give the proceeds in alms. From Kerman he went to Samarqand, where he attached himself to the great Shaikh Arif billah 'Ubaid-ullah (the " little servant of God "), and at his behest he accepted the teaching of the Naqshbandis from their Shaikh Baha-ud-Din. Later he went to Herat, and thence returned to Constantinople, but its disturbed condition on the death of Muhammad II drove him to Yenija Wardar, where he died in A.D. 1490. He left at least two works, the *Najat al-Arwah min Rasan il-Ashbah*, " The Salvation of the Soul from the Snares of Doubt ", and the *Zad al-Mushtaqin*, " The Victuals of the Zealous ", sometimes described as the *Zad al-Talibin* or the *Maslik at-Talibin* (" The Victuals of the Seekers ", or Regulations for them). This sketch does not hint that Alahi was *head* of the Western Naqshbandis. But it suggests that the Order was not popular with the imperial authorities at Constantinople

in his day, and that people who wrote about its history were obliged to omit facts of cardinal importance in it.

From Alahi we are taken to Sh. Sa'id Ahmad al-Bukhari, as to whom I fail to find any record. Thence we come to Sh. Muhammad Chalabi (the Turkish cognomen is noteworthy), "nephew of Aziz", and so to Sh. 'Abd-ul-Latif, nephew of Muhammad Chalabi. Here it is patent that the pedigree is quite fragmentary.

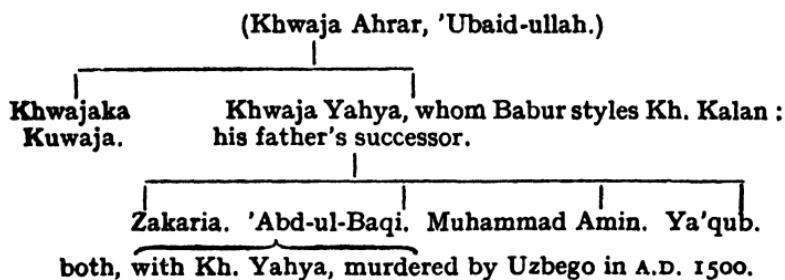
These data and omissions suggest that by Evlia's time the Naqshbandis had fallen under the disfavour of the Imperial Government, that the heads of the Western Naqshbandis were only recognized by it when they were harmless, and that, while that Government did not venture to abolish the convents of the Order in the capital or elsewhere, it suppressed any leading institution which was likely to recall memories of the great names in the Order or increase the influence of its independent heads for the time being.

The connection with the Eastern Naqshbandis was similarly discouraged, if not entirely broken off. None of the great Naqshbandis of India are commemorated by foundations at Constantinople. There is, indeed, one Hindilar ("Indians") *takia* at Khorkhor near Aq Sarai in Stambul, just as there is an Usbeklar *takia* there too. But most of the Naqshbandi convents bear names that are merely picturesque, or only commemorate latter-day saints of the Order who were, frankly, nonentities. And so, when the author of the Turkish *Mirat al-Muqasid* gives a list of the Naqshbandi saints of modern times, he has to omit all allusion

to their chequered history in the West and fall back on the Indian *silsila*, which never had any real jurisdiction in Turkey and was certainly not recognized there by the imperial authorities.

THE EASTERN NAQSHBANDIS

To turn now to the Eastern Naqshbandis, we have first to deal with the Khwaja Ahrar. In his youth this saint had a vision of Christ, which was interpreted to mean that he would become a physician, but he himself declared that it foretold that he would have a living heart. Later on he obtained great influence over Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirza, a great-grandson of Timur and ruler of Mawara-un-Nahr from A.D. 1451–68. This sovereign was then the most powerful of the Timurids in Central Asia: and Herat his capital was famous for its institutions and its learning. The Khwaja acted as envoy to the rivals of this ruler who were also descendants of Timur. For the nonce he succeeded in making peace between them, but it was not permanent. The Khwaja died in A.D. 1490 or perhaps a year later.

His descendants were:

Regarding the sons of Kh. Ahrar, Babur makes a significant statement. Between them enmity

arose, and then the elder became the spiritual guide of the elder prince (Baisanqar Mirza) and the younger the guide of the younger (Sultan 'Ali Mirza). Khwajahka Khwaja had stoutly refused to surrender Baisanqar when that prince had sought sanctuary in his house. Kh. Yahya, on the other hand, gave shelter to Sultan 'Ali Mirza, his rival. It is further stated by Babur that *his* " teacher and spiritual guide " was a disciple of Kh. Ahrar, by name 'Abdullah, but better known as Khwaja Maulana Qazi. Now this adviser was murdered by Babur's enemies in 903 H. (A.D. 1498). Thus we see that there was a tendency for the sons and disciples of the religious chief each to attach himself to a member of the ruling house descended from Timur. Khwaja Maulana Qazi was apparently hanged for no better reason than he had been active in defence of Babur, a fate from which his religious character did not save him. But the tendency mentioned was not the universal rule, for we read of yet another disciple of Kh. Ahrar, Hazrat Maulana Muhammad Qazi, author of the *Silsilat at-Arifin*, who was honoured by the " Hazrat Ishan " with the title of Ishan (though he does not appear to have been recognized as his spiritual successor) and died in A.D. 1516 without having attached himself to any prince. On the other hand, Kh. Ahrar, it is said, also left a grandson, " Khwaja Nura " or Hazrat Makhdumi Nura, who was named Mahmud from his father and Shahab-ud-Din from his grandfather, but received the title of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud. This saint followed Humayun to India, but found that he had been supplanted in favour by the sorcerer-saint

Shaikh Bahlol. To this refusal on Humayun's part to recognize Khwaja Nura's claims to his hereditary veneration, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* hints that all that emperor's misfortunes were due (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 212 and 398–9).

After the murder of Khwaja Maulana Qazi, Babur seems to have had no spiritual guide for a time. He declares that in 905 H. he was negotiating with Khwaja Yahya, but he admits that the Khwaja did not send him any message, though several times persons were sent to confer with him, i.e. in plain English, to attempt to seduce him from his allegiance to Sultan 'Ali Mirza. Whether the Khwaja was inclined to listen to such overtures must remain uncertain. At the worst, all that can be reasonably regarded as proved against him is that when Sultan 'Ali Mirza was betrayed by his mother and it became clear that Samarqand must fall either to Babur or to Shaibani Khan, the Khwaja deserted Sultan 'Ali and ostensibly went over to Shaibani. But his tardy submission did not save him from the suspicion (possibly well-founded) that he was really favouring Babur's claims, which were far stronger than Shaibani's, to the possession of Samarqand. In so doing he would in fact have only been renewing an hereditary tie, for, Babur informs us, his father had appointed Khwajahka Khwaja keeper of his seal.

The slaughter of Khwaja Yahya with his two sons in A.D. 1500 did not, of course, bring the *silsila* or chain of spiritual descent of the western Naqshbandis to an end, but how it continued is a mystery. The *Rashahat* states that Yahya had a third son, Muhammad Amin, who escaped death.

On the other hand, a tradition was current that Yahya had a third (or fourth) son, named Khwaja Ya'qub. This last is mentioned in Babur's *Memoirs* as once appearing to him in a dream, but Beveridge holds that the passage is spurious. It is, however, possible that it is genuine, but that it was suppressed in the Persian translations in order to make it appear that Babur was not under the spiritual protection of the Naqshbandi Shaikhs. But this suggestion finds no confirmation, it must be admitted, in the authorities known to me. These are two, the Panjab traditions, and the Turkish work, the *Mirat al-Muqasid*. Below, the spiritual pedigrees so preserved are set out in parallel columns :

	MIRAT AL-MUQASID	THE PANJAB TRADITION
1.	Maulana Ya'qub Charhi Hissari.	Ya'qub Charkhi.
2.	Khwaja (a gap) Nasir-ud-Din 'Ubaidullah Tashkandi Samarqandi.	Nasir-ud-Din 'Ubaid-ullah Ahrar.
3.	Muhammad Zahid.	Muhammad Zahid.
4.	Maulana Darvish.	Maulana Darvish Muhammad.
5.	Maulana Khwajagi Samarqandi.	Maulana Khwajgi Amkinki (*sic*).
6.	Maulana Shaikh Muhammad Samaqi.	Khwaja Muhammad Baqi-billah Berang.
7.	Imam Rabbani Mujaddid Alif-sani Sh. Ahmad b. 'Abd-ul-Faruqi Wahid Faruqi Sirhindi, *d.* 1074 H. (A.D. 1664).	Imam Rabbani Mujaddid Alif-sani Sh. Ahmad Faruqi Sir-hindi.
8.	Sh. Muhammad Ma'sum 'Urwah'-Wasqa, Sahib Maktubat : *d.* 1097 H. (A.D. 1688).	Kh. Muhammad Ma'sum.
9.	Sh. Saif-ud-Din 'Arif.	Sh. Saif-ud-Din.

10. Sh. Saiyid Muhammad Nuri Budauni.	M. Hafiz Muhammad Muhsin Dihlawi. Saiyid Nur Muhammad Budauni.
11. Sh. Shams-ud-Din Khan Janan Mazhar.	Shams-ud-Din Habib-ullah Mazhar Shahid. Mirza Janjanan.
12. Sh. 'Abdullah Dihlawi.	Mujaddid Miatusaliswal (?) Ashar Sayid. 'Abdullah (Shah Ghulam 'Ali Ahmadi).
13. Hazrat Zia-ud-Din Zu-l-Jannahin Maulana Khalid, *d.* 1242 H. at the age of 50 (A.D. 1827). (Hence the Order is called Khalidia.)	Shah Abu Sa'id Ahmadi. Shah Ahmad Sa'd Ahmadi. Haji Dost Muhammad Qandhari. Haji Muhammad 'Usman—whose shrine is at Kulachi in the Dera 'Isma'il Khan Dist., Panjab.

The *Mirat al-Muqasid*, it will be observed, omits all mention of the *silsila* of the Western Naqshbandis, Alahi and his successors. Now the Naqshbandis have always been numerous and important in Turkey. They have, or had when Brown wrote, fifty-two *takias* in Constantinople alone. In other Turkish towns also they had many foundations, e.g. three at Brusa.

The *takias* at Constantinople include one named " Ahmad al-Bukhari Takiasi ", which must commemorate Sh. Sa'id Ahmad al-Bukhari, Alahi's successor. It is in the Kaban Daqiq (Flour Weigh-House) at Stambul.

They also include four called Amir Bukhara Takiasi. Who the " Amir Bukhara " was, it is hard to say with any certainty. A Shams-ud-Din Bukhari (not to be confused with Shams-ud-Din Muhammad Bukhari, the " Amir-Sultan " of Bayazid I's reign) was a Persian who came to

Constantinople in the time of Muhammad II, and there rose to eminence as the Shaikh of the reign of Bayazid II. He lived as a Naqshbandi, and his cloister is one of the principal Naqshbandi foundations in the Turkish capital. This must be the convent "just outside the Adrianople Gate," in which lies Shaikh Ahmad "Bukhara" (? al-Bukhari) in the mausoleum built for him by Murad III, near the Flower-Hall (Evliya, i, pt. 2, p. 21). If this Sh. Ahmad was the head of the Order, it is clear that it was favoured by Murad III, though Evliya, who is very chary of details where the Naqshbandis are concerned, does not say that Sh. Ahmad Bukhara belonged to that Order. But he adds: "Sh. Ahmad Sadiq, from Tashkendi in Bokhara, who made the journey on foot three times from Balkh to Constantinople (and back again) is buried at the convent of Amir Bokhara." And further: "Sh. Khak Dada, the chief fountain of contemplation, born at Pergamus, was most famous by the name of Na'lbenji (the farrier)"; and at Rumeli Hissar is the *takia* of a farrier-saint, Na'lbar Mahmad Effendi, a Naqshbandi.

In the religious teaching of the Naqshbandis there was not much that would explain all this. They taught that a life could be purchased by the sacrifice of another life; and twice Khwaja Ahrar was saved from death by men devoting themselves (becoming *feda*) in order to restore him to health. This example was clearly followed by Babur, when he resolved to offer up his own life to save that of Humayun.

Babur, like his descendant Aurangzeb, was

buried in a tomb open to the sky. Whether Jahangir's tomb at Lahore was also hypæthral is still a moot question. But it is noteworthy that Jahangir rebuilt Babur's tomb in A.D. 1607–8. This usage was certainly not confined to the Naqshbandis, though Khwaja Baqibillah has no building over his grave at Delhi. It appears rather to have become a Chishti practice. (Qutb Shah forbade a building to be erected over his tomb at Mihrauli near Delhi.)

But the political predilections of the Naqshbandis may well have led to their persecution at the hands of the Sultans of Turkey. As we have seen, a Nurbakhshi wrote a treatise on political ethics. Khwaja Ahrar's dependents by their influence protected many poor defenceless persons from oppression in Samarqand, says Babur. In truth the Naqshbandi Khwajas seem to have sought to give new life to the old idea, that beside the secular King should stand a divinely-guided adviser, the keeper of his seal and his conscience, and the interpreter of the spirit, not merely of the latter, of the formal laws.

Early in the nineteenth century members of the Naqshbundi order penetrated into Daghestan and spread their doctrines there with great success; about 1830 the leaders of the Order started in the land of the Avars a movement which was directed against the ruling dynasty as well as against the rule of the Russians. The first leader of the rebels, Ghazi Muhammad, his successors Hamza Beg and the famous Shamil Effendi (Schamyl), all apparently belonged to the Order and ruled the part of Daghestan held by them as Shaikhs, endeavouring

to govern by the strict *shari'at* law and abrogating the customary law.

The saint most reverenced by the Kurds, Sh. Khalid of Sulaimania, was a Naqshbandi. His sayings are styled *hadis*.

The Naqshbandis were never a militant Order, but, like the Zainis and Baqtash, either had a militant section or tended on occasion to become militant. Thus at the final siege of Constantinople Aya Dada was posted with 300 Naqshbandi *faqirs* before the gate of Aya, where he fell a martyr, and was buried at "our old court of justice the *takia* of Sirkehji." And the story of the Order closes on this same note.

It remains to record that a Naqshbandi, Muhammad Mamun ibn 'Abdul-Wahhab al-Madani, was endeavouring in 1924 to found at Pera a seminary for the "*moralisation*" of the Turkish *takias*, but his activities were cut short when the present Turkish Government decreed the suppression of all the Orders in Turkey.

CHAPTER V

CONCEPTIONS OF SUFISM

کونین مست و باده نابی ندیده کس — سیراب هردو عالم و آبی ندیده کس
مروند تلخکام جهانی و هیچ گاه — در جام عشوه زهر عتابی ندیده کس
مخمور و نیم مست فراوان بود فغان — کز جام لطف مست خرابی ندیده کس

The worlds in rapturous inebrity,
and yet none has seen the wine cup!

The two hemispheres are drenched,
and yet none has seen even a drop of water!

In love's anguish the universe is athirst,
and yet none has seen the play of banter!

Intoxicated and tipsy they raise the cry of love,
Because the beloved has cast the beauteous spell;
and yet none has seen the tavern!

WE must now revert to the conception of Sufism; and review the idea regarding the COMPOSITION OF MAN. As has already been remarked their doctrine teaches them that man is composed of two Factors, the Spiritual and the Material. It is the Material which hinders the Wayfarer's march towards Reality on account of its shortcomings, or what is termed Alloy. It is that Alloy which has to be removed, so that the Purified Sufi may be absorbed into the Absolute Reality and this be illuminated in its Radiance. This is, then, the purpose of the Sufi to attain. For " Body is Falsehood, and Spirit the Truth."

Thy true substance is concealed in falsehood, says Moulana Jalauddin Rumi in his celebrated

Masnavi, like the taste of butter in the taste of buttermilk.

Thy falsehood is this perishable body; thy truth is that lordly spirit.

(During many) years this buttermilk (which is) the body, is visible and manifest, (while) the butter, (which is) the spirit, a shaker of the buttermilk in the churn,

That he may shake (it) with method and skill, to the end that I may know that (my true) ego was hidden;

Or (till) the speech of a (chosen) servant, which is part of (the speech of) him (the Prophet), enter into the ear of him who is seeking inspiration.

The true believer's ear is retaining our inspiration: such an ear is closely linked to the caller (the perfect saint)—

Just as (for example) the infant's ear is filled with its mother's words (and then) it (the infant) begins to speak artistically;

And if the infant has not a right (rightly—herein) ear, it does not hear its mother's words and becomes a mute.

Every one born deaf has always been dumb; (only) that one who heard (speech) from his mother became a speaker.

Know that the deaf ear and the dumb man are the result of a certain defect; for it (the deaf ear) is not capable of (hearing) words being taught.

The (only) one that possessed speech without being taught is God, whose attributes are separated (exempt) from infirmities,

Or one like Adam whose God instructed without

the screen (meditation) of mother and nurse and necessaries,

Or the Messiah (Christ) who, through being taught by the loving (God) at His birth, came speaking into the world,

For the purpose of repelling the suspicion as to his birth (and proving) that he was not born of fornication and wickedness.

A (great) shaking was required in the effort that the buttermilk might render back that butter from its (inmost) heart.

The butter in the buttermilk is (invisible) like non-existence; the buttermilk has raised its banner (has become manifest) in existence.

That which seems to you to be (really) existent is (mere) skin, while that which seems to have perished—that (in reality) is the root.

The buttermilk has not (yet) taken (the form of) butter and is old: lay it (in store) and do not squander it till you pick out (the butter from it).

Hark, turn it knowingly from hand to hand (side to side), that it may reveal that which it has hidden;

For this perishable (body) is a proof of the everlasting (spirit): the maundering of the intoxicated is a proof of (the existence of) the Cupbearer.

Or again, when he says: Know for sure that Statute is the Revelation of the Holy Spirit and that the analogy made by the individual intellect is under (subordinate to) this.

The intellect is endued with apprehension and enlightenment by the Spirit: how should the Spirit become subject to its supervision?

But the Spirit makes an impression on the

intellect, and in consequence of that impression the intellect exercises a certain governance.

If the Spirit has declared a belief in you, as (in) Noah, where is the Sea and the Ship (Ark) and the Flood of Noah ?

The intellect deems the impression to be the Spirit, but the light of the sun is very far from (being) the orb of the sun.

Hence a pilgrim (on the Mystic Way) is content with a loaf of bread (*qursi*), in order that by its light he may be thrown (directed) towards the (Divine) Orb (*Qurs*),

Because this light which is below is not lasting ; it is sinking (every) day and night,

While he that has his abode and dwelling-place in the (Divine) Orb is plunged in that Light continually.

Neither does cloud waylay him nor setting (of the sun) ; he is delivered from heart-wringing separation.

Such a person's origin was from the heavens, or if he was of the earth, he has been transmuted,

Because a creature of the earth cannot endure that its (the Sun's) beams should strike upon it everlastingly.

If the radiance of the sun strike upon the earth continually, it will be burned in such wise that no fruits will come from it.

The business of the fish is always of the water ; how has a snake the power of accompanying it (the fish) on its way ?

But in the mountain are artful snakes (who) perform the actions of fish in this Sea.

Though their cunning make the people mad,

while their aversion to the Sea exposes them (as hypocrites);

And in this Sea are artful fish, (who) by the magic turn snakes into fishes—

The fish of the deepest depth of the Sea of (Divine) Majesty: the Sea has taught them lawful magic;

Therefore through their illumination the (thing that was) absurd became a fact: the ill-starred one went thither and became auspicious.

Though I should speak on this topic till the Resurrection, a hundred Resurrections would pass, and this (discourse would still be) incomplete.

Now, the relation of these two Elements, namely, Body Material and the Spiritual, should be knitted with the Sufi conception of all around him, that is the visible world, before he can fully comprehend his being in it, and having placed himself in its proper perspective he may "Soar heavenwards in search of the Light of the Essence of it All."

What then is the principle of the Sufi regarding the universe around him, and his place in it? Is the world created for amusement, with no end in view, is there any purpose of its creation, and last but not the least where is the Essence of it All to be seen in it, if seen or perceived at all? In explaining this Mystery of All Mysteries the Sufis have the Formula of EMANATION, that is ALL ORIGINATES FROM HIM, AND THAT ALL SHOULD ULTIMATELY BE ABSORBED IN HIM.

The Great Sufi Ibnul-Arabi that Existence is THE SUPREME BEING OR ESSENCE. That this Existence is not derived as such in a limited sense, it is THE ENTITY ITSELF, as the celebrated Khaja Khan puts it, and continues that the Derivative

Existence is derived from it, and that this existence is absolute from absolutism, and finally that the world is a Limitation of this Existence, this Existence being the Supreme ESSENCE of it all, or *Dhat*, as it is termed in Arabic.

This latter, he adds, has two aspects; one the aspect of *Dhat*, in which it is present by itself and independent in itself (Assamad); and the other is the aspect of *asma*, names in which it is united by attributes and actions (active and passive). It cannot be thus attributed except by the localization of *ayani-thabita* (fixed entities, i.e. entities having fixedness in knowledge); for there cannot be a knower, without a known already existing. This is the line of argument of Shaykh Muhiyyddin ibn-i Arabi (A.D. 1165–1241). Shaykh Abdul Karim ibn-Ibrahim-i-Jili criticizes this doctrine. The known having already existed in knowledge, the knower issued His command to it. The known has thus created the knower. This exhibits a sort of defect in Him, which is unthinkable. Reality is the non-existence of non-existence; and non-reality is the non-existence of existence (*Al-wujud adam-ul-'adam wal adam adam ul wujud*). Reality between two non-realities is a non-reality (*Al wujud-u-bayn-ul-adamaini adamun*). The Asharis hold that Existence itself is *Dhat* and all other sects hold that existence is State (*hal*), necessary to the essence so long as the essence abides and that this state has no *illa* (cause). Muhammad-i-Fudali, a savant who flourished in Egypt in the first half of the thirteenth century of the Hijra, says that the meaning of its being a state is that it does not attain to the degree of an

entity (*mawjud*) and does not fall to the degree of a non-entity (*madum*), so that it should be non-existence pure; but is half-way between an entity and a non-entity. So the existence of Zayd, for example, is a state necessary to his essence; that it cannot be separated from his essence. And when it is said that it has no cause, the meaning is that it does not originate in anything as opposed to Zayd's potentiality (*Qadir*, powerful), for example, which originates in his power (*qudra*) so potentiality and his existence are two states which subsist in his essence unperceived by any of his five senses: only the first has a cause in which it originates his power, and the second has no cause.

According to this doctrine the essence of God is not His existence and the essences of the created things are not their existences. But Al-Ashari holds that the existence of God is the self (*ayn*) of an entity, and not an addition to it externally, and the existence of a created thing is the self of its essence. Existence and non-existence equally balance themselves and the God brought the world from non-existence into existence. It may, however, be noted that if essence is existence, it cannot be said to be "above thought, guess, imagination and fancy" as Shaykh Sadi has put it, for existence is "that which" according to the definition of *shay* and can be brought within the ken of these. It is what the desirer desired (*Shaa Sha'in*). The Quran, however, says that God is not like the pattern of anything (*Laysa Kamithlihi Shayun*), which may mean that He is the entity of thing itself; and *shay* is "a concept that could be known and of which something could be asserted,

irrespective of the fact that it exists or not." If "that which" (*shay*) exists, it is *wujud* (Entity): say London, it is "that which" and it "exists"; and so it is an entity. If this "that which" does not exist like the fabulous bird *Anqa* it is *adam* (non-entity). According to this view, existence is superimposed on entity; and entity does not come within the ken of "thought, guess, imagination and fancy." Plotinus and Dionysius, the Areopagite, were of this opinion. This entity is, however, manifest in everything.

One day the Prophet (Peace on him) got together the leaders of the tribe of Qureish and said to them, "if you with the sincerity of your hearts say one word, you shall become masters of Arab and Ajam" (i.e. Arabistan: and Ajam stands for the rest of the world). Abu Jehl as the spokesman of the assembly said, "we are prepared to accept not merely one word, but tens of words from you." The Prophet said: "Say there is no God but God." The assembly was taken aback; and said, "How could one God contain the world" (*Kayfa zas-ul kalq illahun-wahid*); and also said, "Has Muhammad (Peace on him) turned all Gods into one God? This is strange" (*Ajaal-al-ilahatunil-ahin wahid. Inna hadha shyun ujjab*).

Now the audience was purely Arab, whose language was the purest of the Arabic tongue; the language of the Qureish was considered the standard language of Arabia. They should have realized the niceties of the language; and they certainly understood that the teaching meant that everything is the manifestation of the Deity. Everything is not a Deity in itself, but it is a

manifestation of it ; just as every beam of light is not the Sun itself, but a manifestation of the Sun. How the *Dhat* (in whatever sense it is taken) manifests itself and what relationship there is between the *Dhat* and *Sifat* (attributes) and finally between *rab* and *abd* (the Creator and created) is the theme of the Theory of Emanation (*Tannazzulat* or descent). As explained above, the philosophers of the Ionic, Doric, and Eleatic Schools had their own theories. Socrates had no definite theory. Plato had his world of Archetypes, Aristotle had two eternal principles, God and matter. It was not till the establishment of the School of Alexandria that any definite theory about the relationship of God and man was established. The Grecian, Jewish, and Christian ideas were all at work. Jewish-Platonism is seen in the writings of Philo, who flourished in the first half of the first Christian century, God has revealed Himself through the world. God's first manifestation or (as they put it) the first born of God is the first Logos as in the Gospel of John ; then this first Logos created the world. This is the crude form of Emanation. The world was created through the clothing of the Divine ideas in a material form. This is the first attempt at the elucidation of the doctrine of Ayyani-Thabita. Dionysius, the Areopagite, wrote to accommodate Proclus to Christianity. Plotinus the disciple of Ammonias Sacchus is the founder of the Neo-Platonic School. Zeller says that " Plotinus' system has no more right to be called a system of Emanation than a system of dynamic pantheism." His system comes nearer Shuhudiyyah than Wujudiyyah.

" The all perfect One is ever streaming out of Himself in this way ; He produced, before countless ages, another being a perfect type of Himself, the product of His own infinity." This is the second principle and is called Intelligence, Reason or Logos. The theory of Emanation supposes the Universe to descend in successive, widening circles of being from the supreme—In the highest, narrowest and most rapid orbits sing and shine the refulgent rows of Cherubims, Seraphims and Thrones or as Mulla Jami has put it :

> *Zan chi az kitm amada ba ay an*
> *Safi-awwal safi malayk dan.*
>
> Whatever has come out of the recesses of nothingness
> Consider the first row as the row of angels.

The theory of Immanence (Shuhudiyyah School) declares that God is everywhere present. The Observer is one and the mirrors are multitudinous. The multiplicity of mirrors does not affect the oneness of reflection in the numerous mirrors. He is present in His reflections in all mirrors. God is as near His *abd* here as on the other side of the grave. *Wa huwu maakum aynama kuntum.* (He is with you wherever you are.) The theory of Emanation is compared to a pyramid which extends from a point on the top downwards to the base in expanding gradations. The symbol of Immanence is a point in the centre, which expands all round towards the sphere. The first theory held its ground in the West from the days of Dionysius, the Areopagite (middle of the sixth century down to the fourteenth century). Eckhart the mystic of Rhineland (middle of the fourteenth century) substituted the idea of Immanence for that of

Emanation. So also Shaykhi Akbar (twelfth century) perfected the idea of Wujudiyyah; and Alaud-Dawlah Samnani (beginning of the fourteenth) and his disciple, Abdul Karim-i-jili, replaced it by the idea of Shuhudiyyah. The atmosphere of the Middle Ages was surcharged with Spiritual Electricity. There was no tangible communication between the West and the East; and it cannot therefore be said that currents flowed from the East to the West or vice versa. The third principle is the soul. The fourth is Nature (*Tabiyat-i-kul*). The theory of 'Alami-Mithal had just then put forth its nebulous adumbrations in the "dæmon theory." It did not as yet form a world by itself. But a dæmon attached himself to each individual, like the Socrates dæmon who could tell him when a flock of sheep was coming from an opposite direction, and thus warn him to enter a side lane. Last comes the manifestation of the Universe. The links of the chain were thus forged by Neo-Platonists. They were burnished and set in concatenation by Moslem Philosophers who based their teaching on the Quran and Hadith.

The Theory of Emanation is a discussion of the origin of things. It forms the province of Haqayiq (Greater Mysteries); the other province called Daqayiq (Lesser Mysteries) is related to the mystical side of Sufism. The material superstructure of Sufism has a Neo-Platonic basis; the mystical side, the Daqayiq, is an original attempt at the elucidation of the mysteries of life and is purely Islamic in origin.

Mr. E. G. Browne says that "Ibnul Farid, like Muhiyyuddin-i-Arabi, had no connection with

Persia and so Dhun-nuni Misri; and hence Sufism is not a manifestation of Persian or Aryan thought," etc. Too many of those who have written on Sufism have treated it as an essentially Aryan movement, and for this reason it is particularly necessary to emphasize the fact that two of the greatest mystics of Islam, and perhaps a third, Dhun-nun Misri, were of non-Aryan origin.

The Daqayiq are really the theories of ascent (*Taraqqiyat*); and these are purely of Islamic origin. The theories are several and varied; for as the saying goes, "there are as many ways to God as there are souls of men" (*al turuqu 'ilallahi ka nufusi bani 'adama*). Existence has descents, i.e. manifestations according to limitation. These are the potentialities (*Shuynnat*) of Existence like the potentialities of a tree in a seed. No attributes or *asma* (names) are to be found in this stage; in this stage, the *Dhat* is called *Munqatul Isharat* (dropping of all indications), *Dhat-i-sadhaj* (uncoloured *Dhat*), *Majhul-ul-Nath* (undefined by attributes), *Ghayb-ul-Ghuyub* (the unseen even in thought); *La Taiyun* (the unlimited), *Ghaybi-Mutluq* (the absolute unseen), *Wujud-i-bahat* (Pure Existence), *Ayn-ul-Kafur* (Reality of Camphor, i.e. that which falls in Camphor becomes Camphor itself). Every descent has a world of its own for its manifestation. The second stage is called *Wahidiyyat*. Between these there is the borderland called *Wahdut*; just as the present is the borderland between the past and the future. This is called *barzakh* (and the *barzakh* in the present instance is *Wahdut*). It is also called *Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi* (the Reality of Muhammad). It is the

mirror through which God sees His attributes and *asma*. Unless the glass is coated with mercury, the seer cannot see his face in it (i.e. without the coating, there can be no reflection of one's face). Without the *barzakh*, the manifestation of attributes is unthinkable. The third is the world of souls (it is also called *Alam-i-Jabrut*), the fourth is *Mithal* (it is also called *Malakut*), the fifth is *Shahadat* (the external world), and the sixth is *Insanul-Kamil* (the perfect man), which includes all the attributes and *asma*. The Reality Muhammad has thus fully manifested itself in Adam. There are thus *six* stages and five manifestations and these latter are called *Hazrati-Khamsa* (the five Presences).

In the psychology of forty years ago, only Mind and Matter found a place ; there was no corner for God. Mind was "no-matter," and matter was "never-mind" ; if mind was not reduced to an effulgence of matter very much like bile, as the product of liver or if matter was not reduced to a Mind Dormant as in the case of Schelling. Mind was only a series of the states of consciousness. How these fleeting states were linked together was no more known than the missing link in the biology of Darwin. This theory has now given place to a field of consciousness or awareness, which cannot be brought within the four corners of a definition. There is a field of consciousness, *plus* its object as felt or thought of, *plus* its attitude towards that object, *plus* the sense of self to whom the attribute belongs.

A point first appears on the unlimited disç of consciousness. This point is an imaginary

limitation; an attitude is then created between this point and consciousness; and then again the idea of consciousness acting on that point, comes into play.

That point according to Sufis (which is neither essence nor extension as defined by the Megarian Euclid), is the limitation of *Dhat* in its own knowledge. Thus the *'itibar* (imaginary limitation) of *ilm* (knowledge) is realized. The *Dhat* as it were descends into its own knowledge. The limitation of the *Dhat* in knowledge involves the idea of Existence. Its realization of itself is "I" (*Nur*). Dawning on itself it becomes aware of its potentialities (*Shuyu-nat*); this is *Shuhud*. In other words, when the *Dhat* dawned on itself it found itself possessing attributes (*ergo* names). Existence is thus a statement of possession of relationship. The dictum of Abdul Karimi Jili was *Laysal wujudu siwal khayali inda man udri ul khayal.* (Existence is nothing else than thought itself.) When the *Dhat* knew its own attributes and names, knowledge was found; when it discovered beauty, *Nur* was found. When it knew itself, it was its *shuhud*. Or as some others say, dawning on itself was *Nur*; discovering itself, Existence; being by itself *Shuhud*; and knowing all these knowledge. Others again say that the totality of *ayan* is the *Aqli-kul* (Absolute Reason). The relationship between the *Dhat* and this totality is an attribute. Originally this totality was in annihilation, much as sparks are, in the *dhat* of stone; or were merged therein. The first attribute was *Ilm* (knowledge); when the totality of *ayan* appeared, the *Dhat* gave prominence to *ayau* over Adam (nothingness). This

was *irada* (will) of the *Dhat*. When it worked on *ayan*, power came into prominence. When the *Dhat* beheld them, before their manifestation, it was sight; when the aptitudes of *ayan* became prominent, they as it were proclaimed their individuality, the *Dhat* heard this. It thus had Hearing.

In the first stage which is called *Ahdiyyut*, there is the unlimited. In the second, which is *Wahdat*, four potentialities (*shu-yunat*) are found. Plato found his God above being, Plotinus gave Him being, thought, and power and called Him Dimiurgus. The *Iltibarat* of the *Dhat* were the hypostases in the Divine Nature as propounded by Plotinus. In this second stage there is no differentiation of one from the other or from the *Dhat*. The potentialities of the *Dhat* were thus first manifest in knowledge. In the third stage (or second limitation) the knowledge of self became cognizance of *Shuyunat* (*Inn-Allaha kad ahata bi kulli shayin ilma*), God's knowledge surrounds all things. Existence becomes Life (*Allahu la ilaha illahual hayyul qayyum*). There is no God, but God; He is ever living and supporting. Nur becomes Ego (*La tudri-kuhul-absar*). Eyes do not see His *Dhat;* and Power becomes will (*fa alun lima yurid*). He does what he will. When before their external manifestations, the *Dhat* realized Its potentialities, Its sight (*basr*) was in evidence (*Wahuwa Samiun basir*). (He is the hearer and the seer.) When the requirements of these potentialities according to their aptitudes were realized, Hearing was in evidenced *Alam-yalam-bi-annallaha yara*. Do they not know that God sees.

When in the same state, the *Dhat* attended to these requirements, it became speech, *Kallimall-ahu Musa taklima* (God spake unto Moses). Thus there was first the *Dhat*, the unknown and unknowable of Herbert Spencer about which a Hadith has said *la tafakkuru fi Dhatihi-wa-illa-tafakhakuru fi sifathi*. (Do not contemplate on *Dhat*, but contemplate on *sifat*.) This is the stage of *Ahdiyat*. Then four *itibarats* (imaginary relations or hypostases) are found, knowledge of self, existence, light, power. This is the stage of *Wahdat*.

The third stage is then reached, called *Wahidiyat* in which knowledge of self becomes knowledge of *Shuyunat*; Existence becomes Life; Light becomes Ego; Power becomes *Irada* (*will*); and to these Sight, Hearing, and Speech are added as explained above. As six of these attributes are dependent on existence; existence is shown first in calculation. Without existence, there could be no knowledge. Some others give *knowledge* the premier place in the "*itibarat*" and call it *Imam-ul-Ayimma*; for without a cognizance of existence existence is not realized—(Descartes' dictum of *cogito ergo sum*). Shaykh Muhiyyuddin ibni Arabi and his followers belong to this school of thought. They say knowledge is realized only after the potentialities (*shuyunut*) have been realized; thus the *Dhat* is dependent on *shuyunat* for its own realization. Shayah Abdul Karim-i-Jili in his *Insan-ul Kamil* is, however, of another mind. God is spoken of in the Quran as *as samad* and *gani* both meaning "Independent." This view of Ibni-Arabi, he thinks, militates against His Independence, He says that God has personal knowledge; as He is

aware of his *shuyunat* without the relationship of the knower, the known and knowledge. These *shuyunat* in knowledge have their own peculiarities. Their peculiarities were their own, and God commanded them " to be " and they " became." Before their manifestation, God was aware of them. This school gives the premier place to *Irada* in the seven *itibarat*. They believe in the doctrine of *volo—ergo sum*. There is thus *Dhat* corresponding to Universal Consciousness (*Ahdiyyat*), a point appears in its disc (so to speak) and four *itibarat* appear.

This is *Wahdat* called also the Reality of Muhammad (*Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi*). These *itibarats* were differentiated and became more pronounced ; and seven *sifat* (attributes) are in evidence. David asked of God, " O Lord, where wert Thou, before Creation." " I was a hidden treasure, I loved to be known and created the world to be known." This is a *Hadith-i-sahih*, though coming under the category of Zaif. The Prophet was asked by one Abizarara " where was God before Creation ? " (*Ayna kana rabbuna qabla an khalaq-al-khalqa.*) The answer was " He was in a cloud (*ama*) ; above which there was no air and below which, there was no air." Man can contemplate as far as *itibarat* (*Wahdat*) but cannot pierce further. A screen always hides his view. Shaykh Muhiy-yuddin Ibni Arabi connected the *ama* with *Ahdiyat*, but other thinkers connect it with *Wahidiyat*, i.e. the *Dhat* in these stages is covered by the *ama* (cloud of attributes or *asma*) and thus is indiscernible. Between *Ahdiyat* and *Wahidiyat* is the line of demarcation (*Barzakh*) ; much as the present is a line of demarcation between the past and the

future, or the imaginary line between the different hues of a rainbow. *Wahdat* is the dawning of self on self. *Wahidiyyat* is the dawning of self on its potentialities. *Wahdat* is the reality of Muhammad; and the world is a manifestation of that reality. It is said that the *realities* of the souls and bodies of the world are the details of the reality of the soul and body of Muhammad. A doctrine like this regarding Christ amongst the Christians might have given rise to the idea of transubstantiation, which, however, is traced to the festival of "the Lord's supper."

The reality of Muhammad finally became the figure of Adam. According to Imam Qistilani, Tahir ibni Abdulla Ansari said that Muhammad (Peace on him) said "the first thing which was created was the light of your Prophet, which was created from God." Another Hadith says "O Jabir, the first thing created was the soul of thy Prophet." A third: "I have a special time with God, in which is not contained the nearest angel or a sent Prophet." "I was a Nabi, while Adam was between water and mud." The Quranic text "Muhammad is not the father of any of you, but he is a Messenger of God and the Seal of the Prophets" is explained by Najmuddin-i-Kubra to mean that he is not of your world.

The four *itibarat* of the first limitation, *Wahdat*, multiplied by the seven *sifat* of the second limitation *Wahidiyyat* (called also *Ummahat-us-sifat*, mothers of attributes) give 28 *sifat*, *ergo* 28 names, of which the world is a manifestation. The following diagram gives an idea of the 28 names both manifest and unmanifest.

TRANSLATION OF THE NAMES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

No.	The Creator Names	Translated	The Created Form	Translated	The Arabic letter corresponding to each
1	Badi	The Creator	Aqli-kul	Absolute Reason	Hamza
2	Baith	The Cause	Nafs-i-kul	The Preserved Tablet	Ha
3	Batin	The Unmanifest	Tabiyati-kul	Absolute Nature	Aiyn
4	Akhar	The Exterior	Jawher-i-Haba	Essence of matter	Hai
5	Zahir	The Manifest	Jism-ikul	Absolute Corporeality	Ghain
6	Hakim	The Wise	Shakli-kul	Do form	Khay
7	Muhit	The Surrounder	The Arsh	The Throne of God	Kaaf
8	Shakur	Large Recompenser	Kursi	The seat	Qaf
9	Ghani	The Independent	Falakul-Munazil	Crystalline sphere	Jeem
10	Muquddir	The Exerter of influence	Falakul-Buruj	Sky of Zodiacs	Sheen
11	Rab	The Supporter	Zuhul	Saturn	Ya
12	Alim	The Knower	Mushtari	Jupiter	Zad
13	Qahir	The Overwhelming	Mirikh	Mars	Lam
14	Nur	The Light	Shams	Sun	Nun
15	Musawir	The Painter	Zuhra	Venus	Ray
16	Muhsiy	The Counter	Utarid	Mercury	Toe
17	Muhaymin	The Guardian	Qamar	Moon	Dal
18	Qabiz	The Curtailer of Life	Nar	The Sphere of Fire	Tay
19	Hayy	The Life	Hawa	Air	Zay
20	Muhiyy	The Quickener	Ma	Water	Sin
21	Mumit	The Annihilator	Arz	Earth	Sad
22	Aziz	The Valued	Madan	The minerals	Zoe
23	Razzaq	Providence	Nabatat	Vegetable	Tay
24	Muzil	The Degrader	Haywan	Animal	Zal
25	Qawi	The Powerful	Malayk	Angels	Fay
26	Latif	The Minute Observer	Jin	Jin	Bay
27	Jami	The Gatherer of all	Insan	Man	Meem
28	Rifi-ud-Dharajat	The Elevater of Rank	Insanul-Kamil	The Perfect Man	Wau

"We have issued two oceans that never mingle together; between them is a *Barzakh*, that is never removed"—Suratur Rahman (lv. 19, 20).

"I swear by the Lord of the Easts and Wests; that We are able to destroy them and substitute better than them in their places"—Sura Maarif (lxx. 39). The left-hand names are the Easts and the right-hand names are the Wests referred to.

The first three stages or two limitations are called *Zuhur-i-Ilmi* (manifestation in knowledge) or *Maratibi-Ilahi* (Divine Ranks); and the succeeding three stages (*Arwah, Mithal, Ajsam*), which are manifestations of names, are called *Maratibi-Kouni* (worldly ranks). Each succeeding stage is a covering over the next higher one, i.e. the higher stage is obscured by its lower manifestation, while at the same time, the latter is the form of the higher one. The twenty-eight names have multiplied themselves by permutation and combination into innumerable names, in fact into as many names as there are drops in the Ocean. God has hidden Himself behind 70,000 screens of light and darkness (i.e. names of beauty and glory), *Innallahi taala sab'ina alfa hijabun min nurin wa zulumatin*. These are *taiyunats* (limitations). But what is a limitation? It is, so far as Existence is concerned, nothing else than Existence itself; while Existence in respect of limitation is not the reality of limitation, e.g. the form of a jug in respect of clay is nothing else than clay itself, while clay in respect of this form is not the Reality of the form. So also the simile of letters and ink. They call this doctrine, *Ayniyat-i-haqi-qi* and *Gharyat-i-Itibari*. (The reality of sameness and

differentiation in fancy.) External figures are, therefore, the shapes of Existence. A Deccani poet —Maulana Chari—has sung:

Yih rup tira rati rati hay
Parbat parbat pati pati hay
Parbat mi adiq na kam pati min
Yak san rahayi ras aur rati min

Oh Thou, Thy form is in each atom
In mountains, so in leaves,
Not big in mountains nor small in leaves
It is same in heaps as in atoms.

Ghariyat-i-Itibari. The twenty-eight attributes became twenty-eight names (*asma*). His first *ism* (name) was *Badi* (Creator) called also *Qalmi-Aala* (the Pen). This name is the repository of all other names that ever manifest themselves. It has two sights, or to put it in modern phraseology, two angles of vision; one on its own entity or *dhat*, and the other on its attributes. From the first point of view, *Baith* came into being; and from its second, *Aql-i-kul.* Similarly from the personal view of *Baith,* the name *Batin* came into being; from its attribute-aspect *Nafs-i-kul*; and so on till the last Divine name and its worldly counterpart (as in the diagram). Thus each name has its view on each succeeding name and through it on the one that succeeds it till the very last. It is therefore said that the soul world has its sight on the material world. So long as Soul has its sight on *Rafi-ud-darajat,* its counterpart " Perfect man " is in evidence. When it shifts its sight to *Almumit,* its body dies and he lives in the mithal world. This being in descent, the uppermost reality is manifest in man. Shaykh Muhibulla of Allahabad, a commentator of Fususul-Hikum, has said,

"*Arwahina ajsa dina ajsadina arwahina*" (our bodies are our souls, and our souls are our bodies). The first series of names are called *asmai-ilahi* (Divine names) or necessary names and their counterparts are called *asmai-kiyani*. Each *ism* in the first set taking a form (*ayn*) became an *ismi-kiyani* just as *Ahdiyat* taking a form (*ayn*) became *Haqiqat-i-Muhammad*. The influence that each *ism* (name) exerts on its counterpart is called the Divine Breath or inflatus (*Nafs-i-Rahmani*.) "There is no creeping creature on the earth, whose forelock is not in the hand of its rab. That rab is on the right path" (*Wu ma min dabbatin fil arzi illa hua akhizum bi nasiyath-i-ha. Haza rabbi ala siratin mustakim*). Each *ismi ilahi* comprises all other *asma*, but goes by the particular name of that *ism*, owing to the predominance of its particular attribute.

Gulshani-Raz says:

Agar ek khatrara dil bar shigafi
Burun-ayad azo sad bahri safi

If you cleave the heart of one drop of water
A hundred pure oceans emerge from it.

This is known as the doctrine of Indiraj-i-kul fil kul (Pervasion or immanence of all in all).

Ghariyat-i-Haqiqi. The doctrine of *ayan* approaches very near to the æons of the Christian gnostics; but the idea is centuries older than the Christian mysticism. It is the "Eternal Idea" of Plato (Archetypes), to which his immediate disciple Aristotle had given the name of *entelecheia*. An "eternal idea" contains all that is to become manifest. The idea of Zayd in God's knowledge is the general idea of the man from his conception in the womb till his dust returneth unto dust, or still

further, till he journeys back through mithal, arwah and reaches the point from which he started.

Gulshani-Raz again :

> ***Kaz an dar amad awwal ham bi dar shud***
> ***Agar cheh dar maad az dar bi dar-shud***
>
> **Man returneth to the door from which he started**
> **Although in his search he went from door to door.**

The changes that take place are merely the unfolding of that idea ; or as Zeller has put it, " though ideas are eternal and unchangeable, things are regarded as derivative, perishable, and in constant change."

In the first-named theory, the descent is gradual from *Ahdiyat*, *Wahdat*, *Wahidiyat*, *Sifat*, *Asma*, and *Ayan*. At the last-named stage, the differentiation between *rab* and *abd* appears. In the second-named theory there is God and His *shuyunat*. The *shuyunat* are both co-eternal with and disappearing in *Dhat* like billows and the ocean.

According to the second theory, the manifestation of *Badi* was *Aqli-kul*. When the latter realized its potentialities of manifesting a world it prayed to *Badi* for a companion, then *Baith* the interior of *Badi* came into play and manifested *Nafsi-kul*. By the conjunction of *Aqli-kul* and *Nafsi-kul*, *Tabiyat-i-kul* came into existence. Paracelsus has said that this was a marriage between heavenly influences and terrestrial objects to which the Grecian Theosophist gave the name of *Gamahea* (which the Sufis call *Izdawaj*). Then the product is a third *ism*. This, however, is liable to the objection that when a thing comes out of another thing it must leave a blank in the latter.

According to the first theory, the *ayan* are fixed

forms in the knowledge of God, they never come out leaving a blank there.

Al ayan-i-thabitatum ma shummut rahiya tul-wujad. (The *ayan* have not smelt the smell of Existence), as remarked by Shaykh-Akbar. The difference between Plotinus of Alexandria and the Shaykh is this: that while the former "refused to ideas any existence external to our own minds," a sort of Berkelianism, the latter "refused to Ideas any existence outside God's mind." The Grecian philosophers believed that æons had come out of God's knowledge, and had an external existence.

As regards the mutability or immutability of *ayan*, the same Moslem authority on *Ghairyati-Itibari* thinks that they are immutable, even in manifestation; for if they were mutable, they would indicate a change in the eternal knowledge of God—a hiatus of ignorance in Divine knowledge, which is unthinkable. Some hold that *ayan* are immutable; but their peculiarities and effects are extension, and *ayan* are essence. There can be no change in extension, without a change in essence. Shaykh Abu Saaed Abul Khayr is of opinion that both *ayan* and their effects are liable to change in the stage in which the lover himself becomes the beloved; *Shuyunut* disappear in *Dhat*.

Ishq o ashaq mahu gardad zin muqam
Kud hamo mashuq manad wussalam.

Shaykh Alaud-Dawlah Samnani (the philosopher-governor of Samnan in Persia), the real founder of the Shuhudiyyah School and prototype of Abdul Karimi Jili, is of the same opinion, with the exception that though the distinction of "I" and "thou" disappears, duality still remains; the

shadow (the world) cannot become the substance (God). The difference between the two schools is really owing to the point of view that each takes regarding the stage at which *ayan* make their appearance.

From Falak-ul-Munazil to Qamar in the diagram are the Planets which work on the Inferior Material world, which is from the sphere of fire to Insan. The net result of this working is the production of Insan-ul-Kamil (the Perfect Man). This no doubt leads to a belief in astrology and theurgy.

In astrology, the influence of heavenly bodies on the destiny of man is calculated. Man is a conglomeration of all the *asma*, each heavenly body is a manifestation of a particular *ism* (name) ; and so the position, or as it is called, the sight, of a particular heavenly body, has an influence on the destiny of a particular individual at a particular time. In theurgy (*Ilm-i-taksir*) again, the influence of each of the twenty-eight Arabic letters has an effect at a particular time. In the statement subjoined to the diagram, it will be seen that each *ism* is represented by a particular letter. When the Divine One emerged from self-absorption, He became aware of Himself—this is the stage of Self-Love. (*Fa ahbubtu-an-urifa.*—He loved to be known.) Vibrations brought about by Love gave rise to sounds which were the sounds of letters, and those sounds manifested themselves as *asmai-llahi*. Like in the case of heavenly bodies in astrology, each sound, *ergo*, each letter of the Arabic alphabet represents an *ism*. If, therefore, an amulet is prepared, consisting of particular letters, the *asma* represented by these letters must find their

manifestation. The idea therefore is that a theurgist or Mashayik who has selflessly practised in this art, can bring about a particular desired effect, by the manipulation of the Arabic letters. He is supposed to have permission from his *Pir* who grants him the same, after he is fully satisfied about the moral character or selflessness of his murid; the same precaution as is taken in the case of teaching Hypnotism or Mesmerism.

Thus in the manifest world, there is the soul-world and the material world and the *barzakh* (the intermediate stage), which is also called *alami-mithal.*

ALAM-I-ARWAH (THE SOUL-WORLD)

The first four *Asmai-Kiyani* form the soul-world. *Aql-i-kul* is the form of Existence of God's knowledge. It is called *Qalam-i-Aala* (The Exalted Pen) in the language of *shara.* All individual souls are contained in this; and are as an embodiment of one soul, called *Ruhi Azam* (the Great Soul); and out of this individual souls manifest themselves. Mawlana Rumi says: "There is differentiation in the Animal Spirit; the Soul of Humanity is one."

Tafriqa dar ruhi haywani buwad
Nafsi wahid ruhi insani buwad.

This doctrine is known in the West as Averroism, the doctrine of the Moslem philosopher of Spain, Averroes (Ibni-Rushd 1126–1198) who maintained "that the spirit or the rational part of the Soul is one in all. Individual Souls are the manifestation of this one Soul." *Nafs-i-Kul* is the breath of the *Dhat* and the embodiment of God's knowledge of Creation. All forms of Existence are impressed on it. It is also called *Lawhi-Mahfuz*

(the Preserved Tablet). Whatever was or is to happen is, as it were, written down by the Exalted Pen on this Tablet. In the first, God knowledge finds a habitation; and in the second it takes a shape. The second is also called *Ummul-Kitab* (Mother of Book). There are also called Exalted angels as they work out God's decrees automatically. Under them are minor pens and tablets (both minor angels). The decrees in these are liable to change, but not of the Preserved Tablet. The third is *Tabiyat-i-kul* (absolute nature); this too consists of angels and they mould Nature which is the nature of God according to which the nature of man is manifest. *Fit-ratulla hil-lati fataran nasa alayhai*. *Jawhar-i-Haba* is the Essence of Matter (Prima matrix), the fourth angel, it is the nebula of which the creation is a manifestation as subsequently postulated by Kant and Laplace. It is the mercurial covering at the back of a mirror, which enables the mirror to reflect forms. *Jismi-kul* is absolute corporeality. The first set of angels are called *malai-aala* (the highest angels); and they were not commanded to worship Adam.

The pre-natal existence of individual souls is acknowledged in the Quran *sura* VII, 71. " The Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam." As the souls came out, they arranged themselves in four rows: the first row was of Prophets; the second of saints; the third of believers, and the fourth of non-believers. It was asked, " Am I not your Lord? ", they all said " Yes." Again, in *sura* 24–35: " the body is compared to a lantern; the vegetable spirit, to the lamp; the instinctive spirit, to the oil, and the

spirit of humanity to the fire that kindles." The Proverb xx. 27, expresses the same idea—"The life of man is the lamp of the Lord." A Hadith related by Ayisha says: "*Al-arwah-u junudun-mujunidum, fama taarafa minha italafa-wa-man tanakara minha ikhtalifa.*" "Souls are a collected army. Those in it who recognized each other began to love each other, and those who did not recognize each other were repugnant towards each other." Such was also the theory of Love propounded by Plato. At the instigation of the Jews, says Ibno-Khaldun, Nasir-ibnul-Harris and Utba proposed three questions to the Prophet; (P.O.H.) one of which was, "What is the soul?" To this the Quran says: "They ask thee about the Soul, say 'Soul is the command (*amr*) of the Lord thy God.'" (*Ar Ruhu min amr-i-rabbi*); soul thus belongs to the world of command and comes after the first three stages (*Ahdiyat*, *Wahdat*, and *Wahidiyyat*) and is in limitation. But the Quran also says, *Nafak tu fi hi min ruhi.* We breathed unto him (Adam) out of our own *Ruh.* This soul is the *Ruhi-Azam* (*Haqiqat-i-Muhammadi*) which is the stage of *Wahdat* itself and is not under limitation. Though the individual soul is a limitation, it is free from matter and extension and from colour and form. It is cognizant of self and not-self, but not liable to be sensed by any of the senses. The limitations of *Ruhi-Azam* are the souls of men, and when such limitation is manifest in body it becomes animal-spirit. It is subtle in nature, and each particle of it is connected with each particle of the body. This soul is liable to reward and punishment, as it alone tasted of the pleasures of

the body. It is immortal in nature and after the decay of the body assumes a thought-shape. In the theory of gradations (*tanazzulat*), it has been said that each gradation is the form of the next higher grade, and the lowest grade is the form of all the higher grades up to the highest. It has been shown previously that as each *ismi-ilahi* takes a form, it becomes an *ismi-kiyani* in the manifest world. *Dhat* with a relationship (attribute) becomes an *ism*, i.e. it is infinite and *ism* is finite. If the *ism* is inclined towards absolutism (*Nirguna*) it is *ism-i-Ilahi*, if it sees form and is inclined towards finitism (*Sarguna*) it is *ism-kiyani* and becomes an *ayn* which is a shadow of *ismi-ilahi*. The first *ismal-ilahi* directly influences its *ismai-kiyani* and indirectly all the lower *asmi-kiyani* down to the lowest one. No sight reaches Him ; He reaches the sight, the Subtle and Knowing ; (*Latudri kal absar, wa hua yudrikal absar wa hua latee-fun khabir*). Thus it is said that it has its sight or vision on its corresponding and lower *asma*.

In the *Book of Apples* attributed to Aristotle, the Essence of Soul is said to consist of knowing, and the punishment for not knowing is going down into still deeper ignorance. The spirit is described by Bergson as memory, and the matter as succession of images. The Sufis, however, characterize *Nafs* with desire, *Qulb* with knowing, soul with sight, and *ser* with contemplating, and *Dhat* with appearing. Since the *Dhat* appeared, we appear ; all images are of this appearance. Since the *Dhat* contemplated, we contemplate ; since the *Dhat* saw, we see (Light is the stage of soul) ; since the *Dhat* knew, we know (stage of *qulb*) ; since the *Dhat*

desired, we desire (Stage of *Nafs*) ; sight and not knowledge is thus the faculty of the soul. He who is blind here (in this world) will be blind in the next world, and still worse (*Man kana fi hazi hit ama fa-huwa fil akhi-rati ama wa azuallu sabila*). The author of *Shari-Muwafik* (p. 583) commenting on this, says that " the spirit will either be in ignorance or it will be in enlightenment. Those in ignorance will go from bad to worse. Those in enlightenment will suffer till they improve." The faculty of sight being the characteristic of the soul ; the soul is said to be neither in the body, nor without it. The sun illuminates a house, the illumination is neither within the house nor without it. The soul has three sights ; when its sight is on *Dhat* it is called *Amin-Ruh* (the trusted soul), its sight is called *Amin Nur*. When its sight is on *Mumkin-ul-Wujud* (thought world), it is called *Ruhi-Muqim* (stationary soul) ; and its sight is called *Ana-Nur* (Ego-sight). When the soul's sight is on *Wajib-ul-Wujud* (Causal Existence), it is called *Ruhi-Jari* (the travelling soul), which leaves the body in sleep, and wanders about in the spirit world ; and its sight is called *Min-Nur*. *Ruh* has a more influential sight on the body in wakefulness than in sleep. In sleep it has a more fluential sight on *mithal*.

Alami-Misal (The World of Similitudes)

This is the fifth limitation. It is the world of archetypes of Plato or the world of Correspondence of Emmanuel Swedenborg. It is the borderland, between the soul world and the causal world. It does not consist of matter, yet it is dimensional,

characterized by colour like the world of dreams.

It is also called *Alami Ghayb*, a world that is outside our sight.

> *Ghayb ra abri wa abi digar ust*
> *Asman wu aftab-i-digar ust*
> *Nayad an illa ki bar pakan pidid*
> *Barqiyan fi labs min khal kin jadid* (*Mathnawi*).

> The *mithal* world has clouds and rain of its own
> Has a different sky and Sun
> This is not open to the eye of the ordinary man
> Who is deceived by the phantasmagoria of the World.

Sir Sayid Ahmad Khan thought that whatever is outside our sight is *Ghayb*—like the force of gravitation; but this *Alami Ghayb* is a real world corresponding to our World—There is pre-established harmony between the two, like the harmony of two clocks correctly set, or of the hand and the key which it turns. "The very term material world," says Balfour Stewart and Tait, "is a misnomer, the world is a spiritual world merely employing matter for its manifestation. We are led by scientific logic to an unseen and by scientific analogy to the spirituality of the unseen. In fine, our conclusion is that the visible Universe has been developed by an intelligence resident in the Unseen."

It is not the world that comes after death which is also called *mithal* or *barzakh*. To the latter, the individual souls carry away the traits of character peculiar to them. Each individual reaps the fruits of his actions; and lives till the day of judgment, in what Abdul Karim Jili calls *Hayakali* (Thought circles) or what Shaykh Shihabuddin Maqtul, known also as Shaykhul-Ishraq the exponent of Plato's Realism, called *Alami-Ashbah* (the world

of objects); or what Jhah Waliullah Sahib of Delhi has called *Nusma*. Those who thus live in *mithal* and are blessed souls have been described in the Quran as living in "crops of green birds." Thought is of two kinds, the thought that works through the brain called *Khayali-Muttasil* (attached thought); and the thought that does not work through the same is called *Khayali-Munfasil* (separated thought). The one is called Falsidical and the other Veridical in Mr. Myers' *Survival of Human Personality*. This latter work and Sir Oliver Lodge's *Survival of Man* are replete with examples of recorded manifestations of veridical thought. *Mithal* is therefore a veridical thought world; which is as real as, if not more real than, this world; for what occurs in this world, first takes its shape there.

With the shapes of thought-world, angels descend on the Earth. Gabriel used to appear before the Prophet (Peace on him) in the form of *Dahyai-Kalbi;* Khizar also appears in thought-body. Umar could appear before the army of Sariah-ibni-Rustam; and direct Sariah towards a certain mountain; while he himself was preaching from his *minbar* in the Mosque at Medina. Call it clairvoyance and clair-audience as you may. Munkir and Nakir, the two angels that appear before the dead body in the grave, appear in thought-bodies. Actions are extensions in this world; their realities are *Jawahir* (Essence) that remain after extensions disappear. These *Jawahir* appear in the shape of *hooran-i-behist*, etc., in the case of good actions and in the shape of fire in the case of evil actions, for the origin of evil is fire.

ALAMI-AJSAM (THE CAUSAL WORLD)

From the diagram, it may be noted that *asmaikiyan* from one to four form the soul-world ; these higher *asma* are the same as the *Malai-Aala* (which are unconsciously absorbed in the contemplation of God). They are the counter-parts of *Badi Baith, Batin, Akhar,* which having taken forms (*ayani-thabitha*) have manifested their counterparts, viz. Absolute Reason, Absolute Breath, Absolute Nature, Essence of Matter. From the fifth to the eighth in the diagram are *mithal* manifestations ; and from ninth to twenty-seventh are corporeal manifestations. Again from eighth to seventeenth are Superior Fathers (*Abai-Ulawi*) ; and from eighteen to twenty-seven are Inferior Mothers (*Ummathati sifli*). The first set working on the second set produce the Perfect man (*Insanul Kamil*). Just as *Badi* contains in itself all the succeeding names, so does *Insanul-Kamil* contain in itself all the preceding *asmaikiyani* and is the representative of them all. Hence *Insanul-Kamil* is the Vicegerent of God on the earth. Thus has God made man in His own image. (*Khalaq-al-Insana ala suratihi.*) Some commentators take *He* (*His*) to mean " Man's own image," i.e. God created man, in man's own image ; since every *ismikiyan* is a figure of every *ism-ilahi*, no superiority of man is made out by such an explanation. Man therefore is the representation of all names. St. Anthony, a Christian Mystic Father, is said to have observed twenty thousand angels dancing a sarband on the point of a needle ; i.e. on the *dhat* of man, there is a display of mani-

fold *sifat* and *asma*. The angels in the *Malai-Aala* were not commanded to worship Adam ; for when Iblis refused to prostrate himself before Adam, saying : " Thou hast created me out of fire and him out of earth " (*Khalaq-tana min nari-w-khalaq tahu min teen*), God said : " What has prevented thee from prostrating before him, whom I heve created with both my hands. What ! You showed pride or were thou of the *Malai-Aala* " (*Ma manaaka an tasjuda lima khalaq bi yadia astukbarta am kunta minall alin*). Excepting the *malaiala*, all angels worshipped Adam, i.e. all other *Kiyani* names are subservient to Adam, who is the embodiment of all *Kiyani* names. Hence man has not to worship any particular *Kiyani* name or names ; he is not to worship the god or angel of fire, or of air, or of earth, though he knows that these are incessantly working out their allotted task. Besides each name is a " limitation." Without keeping the " named " in view, a particular aspect of it cannot be worshipped. If the " unlimited " and " unnamed " is in view, the worship of it through a particular name will be justifiable. But this is impossible in the nature of things. The author of *Gulshani-Raz* says :

Mussulman gar bi danisti ki buth chist
Bi danisti ki-din dar buth paras thist
Agar mushrik zi din agah gushti
Kuja dar din-i-khud gumrah gushthi
Na dyd wu dar buth illa khulqi zahir
Badan illat shud un dar shara Kafir.

If the Mussulman but knew what is faith,
He would see that faith is idol worship.
If the polytheist only knew what idols are,
How would he be wrong in his religion ;
He sees in idols naught but the visible creature ;
And that is the reason that he is legally a heathen.

After *Jowhar-i-Haba*, is the *Arsh* or the throne of God, which encircles the Universe: there are four angels bearing this throne. Within the cavity of the *arsh*, there is the *Kursi* (seat) in the form of a square. On this seat, there are the two feet of God (glory and grace). From this seat, shine forth on the earth, the glory and grace of God; the latter overshadowing the former. Then the crystalline sphere which is subject to constant changes, hence constant changes in the Universe, brought about by this firmament. The succeeding names all culminate in *Insanul-Kamil*; the developed tree finally ending in the seed from which it sprang.

To put the whole theory in a nutshell: the *Dhat* saw itself in *sifat*; this was a *tajalli* (illumination). The *sifat* are like the mercurial coating of the mirror. This coming into being of illumination, gave rise to duality. This illumination manifests itself as soul—When soul saw itself, it was *mithal*, the coating of the mirror of soul was body—for there can be no reflection, without a coating. When the coating of the body and the gaze of the seer disappear, the seer (the Soul) itself remains. So also, finally when the *Dhat's* gaze disappears, the soul disappears, and Absolutism alone remains.

CHAPTER VI

REALITY OF EXISTENCE

REALITY of Existence being the sole theme in the Path of a Sufi, we must also note that Jami, in his *Lawaih*, likens the Universe with something that consists of accidents which all appertain to the Single Substance; and this he calls Reality underlying all existence according to the author of *Fass-i-Shuaibi*. This universe, he continues, consists of accidents all pertaining to a single substance, which is the Reality underlying all existences. This universe is changed and renewed unceasingly at every moment and at every breath. Every instant one universe is annihilated and another resembling it takes its place, though the majority of men do not perceive this, as God most glorious has said: "But they are in doubt regarding the new creation."

Among Rationalists no one has perceived this truth with the exception of the Asharians, who recognize it in certain departments of the universe, to wit, "accidents," as when they say that accidents exist not for two moments together; and also with the exception of the Idealists, called also Sophists, who recognize it in all parts of the universe, whether substances or accidents. But both these sects are in error in one part of their theory. The Asharians are wrong in asserting the existence of numerous substances—other than the One Real Being underlying all exis ence—on

which substances, they say, depend the accidents which continually change and are renewed. They have not grasped the fact that the universe, together with all its parts, is nothing but a number of accidents, ever changing and being renewed at every breath, and linked together in a single substance, and at each instant disappearing and being replaced by a similar set. In consequence of this rapid succession, the spectator is deceived into the belief that the universe is a permanent existtence. The Asharians themselves declare this when expounding the succession of accidents in their substances as involving continuous substitution of accidents, in such wise that the substances are never left wholly void of accidents similar to those which have preceded them. In consequence of this the spectator is misled into thinking that the universe is something constant and unique.

> The ocean does not shrink or vaster grow,
> Though the waves ever ebb and ever flow;
> The being of the world's a wave, it lasts
> One moment, and the next it has to go.
>
> In the world, men of insight may discern
> A stream whose currents swirl and surge and churn,
> And from the force that works within the stream
> The hidden working of the "Truth" may learn.

As regards the Sophists, though they are right in asserting the ideality of the whole universe, they are wrong in failing to recognize the Real Being underlying it, who clothes Himself with the forms and accidents of the sensible universe and appears to us under the guise of phenomena and multiplicity; likewise in denying any manifestation of Real Being in the grades of visible things under the guise of these forms and accidents, whereas in

truth these accidents and forms are only manifested to outward view by the operation of that underlying Real Being.

> Philosophers devoid of reason find
> This world a mere idea of the mind ;
> 'Tis an idea—but they fail to see
> The great Idealist who looms behind.

But the men gifted with spiritual intuition see that the Majesty of the "Truth," most glorious and most exalted, reveals Himself at every breath in a fresh revelation; that is to say, He never reveals Himself during two consecutive moments under the guise of the same phenomena and modes, but every moment presents fresh phenomena and modes.

> The forms which clothe existence only stay
> One moment, in the next they pass away ;
> This subtle point is proven by the text,
> " Its fashion altereth from day to day."

The root of this mystery lies in the fact that the Majesty of the "Truth" most glorious possesses "names" opposed to one another, some being beautiful and some terrible ; and these names are all in continuous operation, and no cessation of such operation is possible for any of them. Thus, when one of the contingent substances, through the concurrence of the requisite conditions, and the absence of opposing conditions, becomes capable of receiving the Very Being, the mercy of the Merciful takes possession of it, and the Very Being is infused into it ; and the Very Being thus externalized, through being clothed with the effects and properties of such substances, presents Himself under the form of a particular phenomenon, and reveals Himself under the guise of this phenomenon. After-

wards, by the operation of the terrible Omnipotence which requires the annihilation of all phenomena and all semblance of multiplicity, this same substance is stripped of these phenomena. At the very moment that it is thus stripped this same substance is reclothed with another particular phenomenon, resembling the preceding one, through the operation of the mercy of the Merciful One. The next moment this latter phenomenon is annihilated by operation of the terrible Omnipotence, and another phenomenon is formed by the mercy of the Merciful One; and so on for as long as God wills. Thus, it never happens that the Very Being is revealed for two successive moments under the guise of the same phenomenon. At every moment one universe is annihilated and another similar to it takes its place. But he who is blinded by these veils, to wit, the constant succession of similar phenomena and like conditions, believes that the universe constantly endures in one and the same state, and never varies from time to time.

> The glorious God, whose bounty, mercy, grace,
> And loving-kindness all the world embrace,
> At every moment brings a world to naught,
> And fashions such another in its place.
>
> All gifts soever unto God are due,
> Yet special gifts from special "names" ensue;
> At every breath one "name" annihilates,
> And one creates all outward things anew.

The proof that the universe is nothing more than a combination of accidents united in a single essence, i.e. the "Truth" or Very Being, lies in the fact that when one comes to define the nature of existing things these definitions include nothing

beyond "accidents." For example, when one defines man as a "rational animal"; and animal as a "growing and sentient body, possessed of the faculty of voluntary movement"; and body as a "substance possessing three dimensions"; and substance as an "entity which exists *per se* and is not inherent in any other subject"; and entity as "an essence possessed of reality and necessary being"—all the terms used in these definitions come under the category of "accidents," except this vague essence which is discerned behind these terms. For "rational" signifies an essence endued with reason; "that which is growing" signifies an essence endued with the faculty of growth; and so on. This vague essence is, in fact, the "Truth," the Very Being, who is self-existent, and who causes all these accidents to exist. And when the philosophers allege that these terms do not express the differences themselves, but only the invariable marks of these differences whereby we express them, because it is impossible to express the true differences otherwise than by these invariable marks or others more recondite still, this assumption is inadmissible and undeserving of serious attention. And even if we admit it as a hypothesis, we affirm that whatever is essential in relation to special substances is accidental in relation to the Very Truth; for though this alleged essential quality is part of the essence of a particular substance, it is extraneous to the Very Truth upon whom it is dependent. And to say that there is any substantial entity other than the One Essential Being is the height of error, especially when the spiritual intuition of the men of truth,

which is borrowed from the lamp of prophecy, attests the contrary, and when their opponents cannot cite any proofs in favour of their own view. (" God saith what is true, and directeth man in the right path.")

Truth is not proved by terms and demonstrations,
Nor seen when hidden by concrete relations ;
The " Canon " is no " Cure " for ignorance,
Nor can " Deliv'rance " come from " Indications ".

If at each " Stage " thy course diverted be
To different " Goals ", true goal thou'lt never see ;
And till the veil is lifted from thine eyes
The sun of Truth will never " Rise " for thee.

Strive to cast off the veil, not to augment
Book-lore : no books will further thy intent.
The germ of love to God grows not in books ;
Shut up thy books, turn to God and repent.

The completest mask and the densest veils of the beauty of the One Real Being are produced by the manifold limitations which are found in the outward aspect of Being, and which result from His being clothed with the properties and effects of the archetypes indwelling in the Divine Knowledge, which is the inner side of Being. To those blinded by these veils it seems that the archetypes exist in these outward sensible objects, whereas in point of fact these outward objects never attain a particle of those real archetypes, but are and will always continue in their original not-being. What exists and is manifested is the " Truth," but this is only in regard to His being clothed with the properties and effects of the archetypes, and not in regard to His condition when bare of all these properties ; for in this latter case inwardness and concealment are amongst His inherent qualities. Consequently, in reality the Very Being never

ceases to abide in His Essential Unity, wherein He was from all eternity and wherein He will endure to all eternity. But to the vulgar, who are blinded by these veils, the Very Being seems to be relative and phenomenal, and wearing the form of the multiplicity of these properties and effects, and He seems manifold to such persons.

Being's a sea in constant billows rolled,
'Tis but these billows that we men behold;
  Sped from within, they rest upon the sea,
And like a veil its actual form enfold.

Being's the essence of the Lord of all,
All things exist in Him and He in all;
  This is the meaning of the Gnostic phrase,
" All things are comprehended in the All."

(When one thing is manifested in another, the thing manifested is different from the thing which is the theatre of the manifestation—i.e. the thing manifested is one thing and its theatre another. Moreover, that which is manifested in the theatre is the image or form of the thing manifested, not its reality or essence. But the case of the Very Being, the Absolute, is an exception, all whose manifestations are identical with the theatres wherein they are manifested, and in all such theatres He is manifested in His own essence.

They say, How strange! This peerless beauty's face
Within the mirror's heart now holds a place;
  The marvel's not the face, the marvel is
That it should be at once mirror and face.

All mirrors in the universe I ween—
Display Thy image with its radiant sheen—
  Nay, in them all, so vast Thy effluent grace,
'Tis Thyself, not Thine image, that is seen.

The " Truth," the Very Being, along with all His modes, His attributes, connections and relations, which constitute the real existence of all

beings, is immanent in the real existence of each being. Hence it has been said, "The All exists in all things." The author of the *Gulshan i Raz* says:

> "If you cleave the heart of one drop of water
> There will issue from it a hundred pure oceans."

Every power and every act manifested as proceeding from the theatres of manifestation proceed in reality from the "Truth" manifested in these theatres, and not from the theatres themselves. The Shaikh (may God be well pleased with him) says in the *Hikmat i 'Aliyya*: "Outward existence (*'ain*) can perform no act of itself; its acts are those of its Lord immanent in it; hence this outward existence is passive, and action cannot be attributed to it." Consequently, power and action are ascribed to the creature (*'abd*) because of the manifestation of the "Truth" under the form of the creature, and not because such action is really effected by the creature himself. (Read the text: "God hath created thee, both thee and the works of thy hands,") and recognize the fact that thy existence, the power, and thine actions come from the Majesty of Him who has no equal.

> Both power and being are denied to us,
> The lack of both is what's ordained for us;
> But since 'tis He who lives within our forms,
> Both power and action are ascribed to us.
>
> Your "self" is non-existent, knowing one!
> Deem not your actions by yourself are done;
> Make no wry faces at this wholesome truth—
> "Build the wall ere the fresco is begun."
>
> Why vaunt thy "self" before those jealous eyes?
> Why seek to deal in this false merchandise?
> Why feign to be existent of thyself?
> Down with these vain conceits and foolish lies!

In this existence there are the two further elements, those of *Zat* and *Sifat* ; that is The Being and Its Attributes, or The Essence and Its Radiance, as manifested in the working of the world.

The term *Dhat,* or the Possessor, calls for a *Sifat,* or Attribute. The Sheikhul Ishraq, Sheikh Shahabuddin Maqtul, according to the *Khaja,* affirmed that if the Attributes alone are given, and nothing is asserted about *Dhat,* the *Dhat* entirely vanishes. " A substance is a collection of qualities —taste, odour, colour, which in themselves are nothing more than material potentialities." It is the same as the Buddhist idea, which reduces *Dhat* to a zero. On this ground Imam Ghazzali ignored *Dhat* altogether, and concerned himself entirely with *sifat.* Though a theologian of high standing and a moralist who has exerted immense influence on the morality of Islam—so much so that he has been given the title of *Hujjat-ul-Islam* (the proof of Islam)—he has yet been called a " sceptical philosopher."

It is as if the reality is *Dhat* from an internal point of view, and *sifat* from an external point ; as if the *Dhat,* circumscribed within circle after circle, shows itself as *sifat.* It is also a point of contention whether God can be called a *shaý* (a thing). A *shay* is that " about which something could be known and of which something could be asserted "; *shay* becomes *Dhat* in this sense. In the Quran it is written : " *Kullu shayin halikun illa wajh-ullah* "— " Everything is liable to annihilation except the face of God." Then the inference is that the *Dhat* of God is a thing, for no exception

could be made from a group, except of a thing of its own nature.

But thinkers have, however, given three *Batini* (Internal) gradations or emanations of God: (1) *La Bisharti-shay*, "without condition of anything"; (2) *Bisharti la Shay*, i.e. "with condition of nothing"; and (3) *Bi-sharti shay*, i.e. "with condition of a thing." Shaykh Muhiyyuddin-ibni-ul-Arabi asserts that God is not *shay*, and depends for his authority on the Quranic verse: *Lay-sa-kamislihili shayun*—"He is not like the example or model of a thing." A *shay* is that which comes under wish, *Shaa yashau* (the wisher wished). God is the wisher and not what is wished. This may mean that He is the thing itself. The Shaykh has, however, distinctly said: "He is in manifestation" and yet not the *Dhat* of things. "He is He, and *shay* is *shay*." *Ana ana, wa anta anta* (I am I and thou art thou), i.e. *shay* has a separate *Dhat* in manifestation.

In the first case, the *Dhat* is above all conditions; imagination cannot soar up to it. In the second, its existence is implied without further assertion. In the third, something could be asserted about it. The second assertion gave rise to the sect of Mutazilites, founded by Wasil-ibn-ul Ata who asserted that *Dhat* is predicateless and rejected separate attributes. The assertion of predicates militates against the Oneness of God. The predicates are His essence itself. The first four suppositions in the *Dhat*, namely, *ilm* (knowledge), *nur* (light), *wujud* (existence) and *shuhud* (self-consciousness), these are essence itself and not superimposition on essence. In manifestation, the attribute of

existence was super-imposed by God on the pre-existing atoms, i.e. on centres in the unlimited expanse of consciousness. Nazzam, the disciple of Abu Huzal-Allaf, who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, called these by the name of *wujub* (modes) of the Divine being. These are the believers in the Doctrine of Immanence—i.e. that *Dhat* pervades and permeates the whole creation.

In the above summations of the predicables of attributes,. nothing has been said about the eternity of an attribute. Only so much is said, that it is either hidden or manifest. It is considered sufficient to say that in the above gradation of Emanations, no reference is to be made to an attribute. It is the stage of *La bi sharti shay*—" without condition of anything." It is called by different names—*Munqatul-isharat* (the stage at which all indications are dropped), *Ayn ul kafur* (fountain of camphor), i.e. whatever enters into camphor becomes camphor itself, *Dhat-i-sadij* (colourless Reality). In that stage attributes themselves are unheard of and so nothing can be asserted about them. It is only in the fourth stage of manifestation that attributes are in evidence, and anything can be asserted about them.

It is said that a companion of the Prophet, named Zarrara, asserted that the attributes are not eternal. His sect goes by the name of Zarrarins. Imam Hambal and the Mutazilites were persecuted by the Khaliph of their times for having asserted that the Quran (the speech of God) was created, i.e. non-eternal. The other Imams asserted that it was not created. The assertion of Eternal attributes implied a multiplicity of Gods. The knower,

the known and knowledge are one in the stage of *Dhat*, like the painter, the picture and his knowledge are one in the *Dhat* of the person who paints.

However, the sect of Asharis (founded by Abul-Hasan-al-Ashari, 873–935) assert that attributes are not identical with *Dhat*; nor are they separate from it. It is as if the attributes cannot be compared to anything. There can be no *via media*; God is the ultimate necessary existence, who carries His attributes in His own being, and whose existence and essence are identical. Their tenets are as follows: (1) The essence ranks first, the attributes come next; (2) the essence is self-existing and the attributes depend on the essence; (3) the essence is unity and the attributes display diversity; (4) the essence has self-consciousness, the attributes have none; (5) the essence is always hidden, the attributes are sometimes hidden and sometimes manifest; (6) the attributes must be in their proper locality; (7) the manifestation of one attribute conflicts with or suppresses the manifestation of another.

The question is often asked whether the *Dhat* of God is the same as the *Dhat* of the created. In the 85th *Sura* (*Al Buruj*) God swears by the *dhats* of the Constellation of the Zodiacs, so the *Dhat* of God is different from that of the *abd* (created).

In manifestation the two are different and the Quran used the words most easily understood by the people. But there can be no two *Dhats*, any more than there can be two swords in a scabbard. The *Dhat* of the creature is the rupee of the juggler, who takes up a disc of broken pottery, throws it up in the air, and brings down for the bystander the real rupee of silver.

In manifesting Himself through His own ideas (*Ayan*), the *Dhat* of the Creator becomes known as the *Dhat* of the created. In the non-manifest state, there is one *Dhat;* but in manifestation it is known as the incalculably immense number of *Dhats* of the created.

Hamid-uddin-i-Naguri (Nagore of Rajputana) has said:

> *Zi darya mouji gun gun bar amad*
> *Zi bay chuni bi rangai chun bar amad*
> *Ghahi dar kiswat-i-Layla furou shud*
> *Ghahi dar sourat-i-Mujnu bar amad.*

In the ocean, innumerable waves of different colours arise,

> And from namelessness assume a name
> Sometimes in the garb of Majnun
> And sometimes in the shape of Layla.

The identity of the Ocean and waves is real identity, and the dissimilarity is only phenomenal.

A controversy as to the creation or eternity of the Quran (*Kalami Lafzi or Kalam-i-Nafsi*) rages round the throne of Al Mamun; and many were the tortures inflicted by the *Mihna* (Inquisition) on those who denied the eternity of the Quran. It was said that the attributes were, in the first place, either *Jalali* (majestic) or *Jamali* (beautiful); that when the *Jalali* attributes appear all manifestations recede into nothingness, and when *Jamali* attributes are in evidence, the beautiful world comes into being. The first is *tanzih* (getting rid of phenomena) and the second is *tasbih* (assuming of the same). Something like this is found in the philosophy of Zoaraster (*Zardusht*), who asserted that good and evil are the primary manifestations of the Deity (*Yezdan*). They were called Ormuzd and Ahriman.. The Persian Monists, i.e. the Magi

who, guided by a rising star, were led out in search of the birthplace of Christ, were true *Muwahhids* (i.e. Unitarians). Some of the followers of Zoaraster construed these to be two gods and they were called the Zindiqs, i.e. those who did not pay regard to rank. The Zarwanians alone remained true to their colours.

However, the *Jalali* and *Jamali* attributes are in evidence in the Cult of Islam. Again, the attributes may be " personal ", " relational " or " verbal " : the first are like Pure, Sacred, Living ; the second are those that involve the manifestation of an attribute, like Creator, Destroyer ; and the third are those that show action, like Providence, etc. So far the philosophical aspect of *dhat* and *sifat* has been based on the teaching of the Quran ; the philosophers speculated and theorized on the doubtful verses of the Quran (*Ayat-i-Mutashabihat*). Some of the verses have been mentioned above, others are the following :

For God is in the East and West so wherever thou turnest thy face, there is the face of God.—*Surat-ul-Baqara* (Chap. ii. 128).

Really God surrounds everything.—*Surat-un Nisa* (Chap. v. 116).

God is with you wherever you are.—*Surat-u-l Hadid* (Chap. ii. 5).

We are nearer to man than his jugular vein.—*Surat-ul-Waqiya* (Chap. xxvii. 78).

I am in your individuality, but you do not observe.—*Surat-udh-Dharayat* (Chap. xxvi. 19).

He is the first and the last—the apparent and the real—and He knows everything.—*Surat-ur-Rahman* (Chap. xxvii. 26).

God is the light of the heavens and the earth, etc. (*Surat-ul-Anfal*) (Chap. viii. 18).

The Quran is full of the attributes of God, such as speech, seeing, hearing, knowing, etc. The best definitions given are all negative ; indeed, as in the definition of a point, nothing could be positive. The *Kalima*, or the first article of the Moslem faith, asserts : " There is no allah, but Allah." The word " Allah " is from *al-elah*. *Ilah* is simply " that which is worthy of worship." So the *Kalima* means "there is no one worthy of worship excepting the One who is worthy of worship." Some people worship several things, some worship anything and everything that are believed to help them in the realization of their objects. Some worship their good selves ; some have, in the words of Bacon, " the idols of the market-place, the idols of the forum, the idols of the cave and the idols of the theatre to worship." Some worship the phenomena of the Universe. The Moslem *Kalima* declares that none of these are worthy of worship. These are all transient, illusory appearances. The one deserving of worship is the God on whom these depend ; and this he testifies as in evidence (*shahada*), unlike the Jewish *Kalima* (*Shema Israil*) where the testimony is of the ear : " Hear, O Israel, Jehovah, our Elohim, is one Jehovah."

Again, the *Sura*, which is the quintessence of the Quran (*Surat-ul-Ikhlas*), gives negative definitions. God is *Ahad*, i.e. His *Dhat* is homogeneous. Here He is not *wahid*, if that means one as opposed to two, three and any other number—implying contrast and comparison—but He is *Ahad*. A pile of grain of the same species illustrates the nature of *Ahad* ; where His *Dhat* is concerned it is homogeneity, or, more correctly, oneness of homogeneity.

Heterogeneity is in manifestation. Then he is *Samad* (independent). Everything depends on Him; He does not depend on anything. Though positive in appearance, these are really negative in nature. Also the saying, " He is un-begetting and unbegotten," is obviously negative in nature. It is the same as the definition of a point—out of which the whole world is formed.

The mystery of existence having thus comprehended, the Sufi is now surer of his ground and it is now his endeavour " to lose himself in the maze of the Divine Attributes " and become absorbed in it. For that purpose he either places himself in the hands of a Spiritual Guide, or in the early stages endeavours himself by Recitation and Meditation.

When he goes to a *Murshid*, *Pir* or the Spiritual Guide, it is further explained to him that having understood his place in the Creation he should now appreciate the Means and Methods by which he could make his " Upward Flight into the Region of the Supreme Radiance."

He is now told that out of the outer elements of the world finer and noble elements styled as " Worthy Elements " are to be met. There are ten of these, five belonging to the realm of the Supreme Authority and five relative to the Creation.

In the way of the Sufi, it is made clear to him that the five of the Worthy Elements belonging to the Sphere of Authority are those of the Mind, the Soul, the Secret, the Hidden and the Most Hidden. Their stations are in the region of the throne of the Most High associated as it is with the Zone of Nothingness.

God has placed these Worthy Elements at certain

points in man's body which, due to the materialistic entanglements of his fashioning, he had forgotten till, through the benign influence of a virtuous spiritual guide, he becomes aware of their existence there once again, and his Elements incline towards origin.

The five Worthy Elements belonging to the Sphere of Creation are those of the Self, the Wind, the Water, the Fire and the Earth. The stations of each of the Worthy Elements belonging to the Sphere of Creation are centred in each of the five Worthy Elements of the Sphere of Authority: as the Self in Mind, Wind in Soul, Water in Secret, Fire in Hidden and Earth in Most Hidden.

Each of these Worthy Elements has its own Colour, such as that of Mind is Yellow, Soul is Red, Secret is White, Hidden is Black and Most Hidden is Green. Also each of them is under the guidance of different Prophets, each as Mind is under the feet of Adam, Soul is under the feet of Noah, and Abraham; Secret under that of Moses, Hidden under Jesus, and the Most Hidden under the feet of the Prophet Mohamed.

The Great Leaders of the Sufi Order have devised three chief methods of the subjugation of these Worthy Elements.

The First Method is by way of Zikr, or the recitation of the name of Allah, in the manner of Positive and Negative repetition.

The manner in which it is to be performed is that the tongue should touch the palate of the mouth, all outside thought is to be banished from the mind, and the visage of the Sheikh, or the Spiritual Guide, is to be concentrated upon.

The name Allah, Allah, Allah, is to be repeated, thus in harmony with the action of the heart, situated as it is two fingers' breadth below the left nipple.

Meaning and the Significance of this Repetition should be in the mind's eye during the process, inasmuch as the Sufi should consider himself reciting the Holy Name of One which is replete with the most perfect attributes upon whom the recitator has unshakable belief. This practice of Repetition is to be continued till the Purity Spot in the Worthy Element of the Mind becomes Responsive and is filled with the Divine Radiance.

After this Responsiveness of the other Purity Spots of the Worthy Elements is to be sought by means of like endeavours till each becomes Radiant. Their various Stations in the human body being: Soul stationed below the right nipple, Secret stationed two fingers' breadth from the left nipple towards the centre of the chest, the station of Hidden being two fingers' breadth from the right nipple towards the middle of the chest, then the Most Hidden, which is stationed in the centre of the chest, till the Five Worthy Elements become Responsive. The last two, for which effort is to be made, are those of Breath and the Entire Body.

When each of the Purity Spots of the Worthy Elements is being purified, governed as each is by a Messenger of God, as each Spot becomes Responsive through constant meditation and recitation of Allah's Name and Attributes, the Sufi becomes associated with the spiritual radiance of those Prophets under which each Spot operates.

Thus, for example: when his Purity Spot

belonging to the Mind has become Responsive through the medium of Adam's Spirituality, such a person is called Adamiul Mashrub, or Sectary of Adam, with the result that at that stage all the actions of the Wayfarer and all activities around him become void in his eyes, and beyond seeing and perceiving the Actions of the Essential Truths nothing can be distinguished by him.

Like the previous one the Wayfarer having placed his spiritual attention before that of the Prophet Mohamed, endeavour to have his Spot of Soul made Responsive by the above-mentioned recitation and meditation, and as that is under the guidance of Noah and Abraham, upon attainment thereof the Wayfarer is called Ibrahimul Mashrub, or Sectary of Abraham. In the same manner the various Spots are illuminated, so that as he advances from the Spot of Soul to Secret, Hidden and the Most Hidden, he is variously styled as the Sectary of Moses, Jesus, and ultimately the Votary of the Prophet Mohamed.

Another Recitation of Negative and Affirmative Repetition consists of the sentence—LAALLHA ILLAAL'LAH—There is no God, except God. It is to be performed by withholding the breath and, in Spiritual Imagination, saying—LAIALLHA—There is no God—stretching the formula from the navel to the crown of the head, then spiritually uttering the word ILLA, meaning " Except ", on the right-hand side of the chest, then carrying the movement over to the left side finishing the Spiritual Imagination by uttering the phrase—ALLAH—God as the process terminates at the point where his heart is situated. It should be accompanied with a living

realization of the whole Negative and Affirmative conception in relation to all those Purity Spots which are mentioned above: in tune with the feeling that God's gracious Omnipotence pervades in all that is and all that has been and all that shall be and that he, the Wayfarer, seeks nothing from this contemplation out of the love and nearness to Him.

With constant and continual practice of this method, the withholding of breath aids concentration on higher aspects of Spirituality. Furthermore, the usual number of recitation is odd numbers, so that if the thoughts of worldly affairs are not successfully banished and concentration is not secured, even by such a small number as twenty-one, then, according to Khaja Abdul Khaliq Ghazdawani, the process must be repeated.

The next Method is Meditation: which means the forgetfulness of all else beside God and intense Remembrance of God. This could be performed when not in the presence of one's Spiritual Guide. Another Path of this is through the Spiritual medium of a Spiritual Guide, in whose presence, Contemplation, Meditation and Recitation may be performed with utmost respect and belief in the Guide's advice and help in order to attain the Nearness of the Most Supreme Radiance. This method is considered the most effective, the easiest Path and is called Co-operative Approach.

Moraqibah or Contemplation, too, is performed for the purification of the Spot of Heart which constitutes the attainment of the Lesser Saintship. In it one sees the Reflection of God's Attributes, there is complete passing away of all attachment

from mundane and worldly affairs and thoughts, a state of oblivion is arrived at.

The Greater Saintship—Wallayat Kubra—is attained by spiritual efforts beyond the cultivation of the above-mentioned Lesser Saintship. Its zone consists of three circles and a crescent. The conception in this endeavour is based on the assumption of Divine Love: "Whoso Loves Me I Love him."

By dint of much concentration, Recitation and Meditation, the Lesser Saint enters the first, the outer circle and works his meditative way inwards to the second inner circle, then to the innermost third circle and finally to the Crescent Zone of Divine Love, in which he sees nothing but love of what he sought and thereby is wrapped in rapture of the love and devotion of his Goal. This stage is known to have been attained by the Divine Messengers.

The next stage is the Angelic Saintship, in which only those Purity-Spots which are associated with things of "No-Matter." Herein, too, Concentration, Recitation and Meditation guides the Sufi in the Paths. As intense devotion to prayer is beneficial to the progress and ascent it is impossible that the Wayfarer may be vouchsafed the sight of angels. And in this High Saintship, as this Angelic Degree is termed, Unknown Mysteries and Secrets are made known; "The Hidden and the Manifested" becomes clearer to his mind's eye. Due to the Nearer Approach that earlier spiritual propensity of impatience to perceive the Object of Sufi Adoration is banished. The Mind assumed a more restful attitude. The light is nearer.

Two more degrees have to be attained before the Circle of the Essence of the Divine Power can be approached. In this Circle the human perception of the wayfarer is staggered with the radiance of the Cause of All, the secrets of Hana and Baga, or the mysteries of what passes away and what shall always remain are revealed to him.

Later follow the Circles revealing the innermost radiance of the Quran and the real meaning of worship, till finally the circle of the Reality of All Reality is attained.

There are, however, other spheres for the journey of the wayfarer: inasmuch as the Radiance of names and attributes of the Divine Power are reflected into two groups of Messengers, that is in Moses and Abraham and his successors. The next two Circles to be passed are especially sublime as they relate to the influence and guidance of the Prophet Mohamed.

Belief is also entertained that the souls of departed saints visit the graves where their material remains were entered: so that the wayfarer, by blessing such souls, may receive spiritual guidance from the deceased saints by means of meditation. The practice, however, should not be confused with Grave-Worship, for in Sufism worship is only intended for One God and to no man excepting the Prophet Mohamed.

Hadrat Moulana Shah Ahmed Said writes in his *Arbaay Anhar* that the first leader of the Jilana Order of the Sufis was Syed Abu Mohamed Mohayyuddin Abdul Qadir Jilana, born in 471 A.H. and died in 561 A.H. at the age of ninety years.

The Jilana Wayfarer, unlike the Naqshbundi, is

advised to recite in a loud voice the names and attributes of God. The method is two-fold; the recitation of God's name and the recitation of negative and affirmative repetition.

The former is divided into four manners, the first being the recitation of the words, Allah, Allah, Allah—God, God, God—with utmost vigour and zeal, in a loud voice, till he becomes out of breath. Then he should tarry awhile and after regaining his breath the wayfarer should begin the recitation in the same way, and continue the process.

The second manner is that he should repeat the word "Allah" once over his right knee and then over his left knee while sitting in a knee-folded attitude of prayer.

In the third manner he should proclaim the name of Allah in a loud voice once over his right knee, then over his left knee, and the third over where his heart is situated, sitting, as he may be during the process, with his legs folded.

Finally, in the fourth manner, the wayfarer should recite the name of Allah once over his right knee, then over his left knee, and again over where his heart is and the fourth *Darb*, or Impact, should be vigorously pronounced just in front of himself.

In the practice of Negative and Affirmative Recitation, the wayfarer should close his eyes, facing Mecca-ward, then begin the recitation of the sentence: LAILLAHA ILLAALLAH—"There is no God except God" by starting the phrase LAILLAHA —"There is no God—" from the navel bring it up to his right side when ILLA—except—is to be uttered, and finally ALLAH, to be carried to the left side where the heart is, and finished at that point.

It is necessary, however, to concentrate upon the inner meaning of the Negative of all that is not God and in Affirmative of God's Existence.

Between this Order and that of Chishtia there is practically no difference, and its origin is traced from Syedna Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Mohamed.

The recitation in these manners, uttered in a louder voice, is considered to be conducive of concentration, so that the voice of the Wayfarer should drown all other external voices and sounds that detract the attention; and it is further recommended that after the prayers of morning and late afternoon, the Brothers of the Order should sit in a circle in order to perform this recitation in a loud voice in the presence of their Spiritual Guide.

Another spiritual exercise consists of reciting mutely: *Allaho-Sami, Allaho-Baseer, Allaho-Alleem.*—God hears, God sees, God knows all. The Sufi should commence with the first name at the point of the navel, carrying the next name to the chest upward and finishing towards the sky with his head upraised. The process is to be repeated in its reverse direction and finished at the navel with the order of the names reversed. The spiritual excellence is reached through continual Meditation and Recitation of the above Methods.

CHAPTER VII

THE SPIRITUAL EXPERIENCES

If I say that the beloved is invisible to the eye,
it will be untrue!

If I say that it is perceptible to every eye,
it will be untrue!

The six dimensions are radiant with Love's glory,
But if I say that He complexions at a given point;
it will be untrue!

DURING this progress of the Sufi on the Way, various Feelings surround the Wayfarer, at times he loses himself entirely, at other times he perceives nothing but The Divine Essence, at others his speech takes allegorical terminology. But he still retains a perception of the human ego; and through his spiritual experiences conceives his immortality and freedom from what is earthly and, as the Masnavi puts it, falsehood.

To the Moslem school of Fusi thought, in the words of the most celebrated modern thinkers of Islam, Mohamed Iqbal, the ego is a simple, indivisible and immutable soul-substance, entirely different from the group of our mental states and unaffected by the passage of time. Our conscious experience is a unity, because our mental states are related as so many qualities to this simple substance which persists unchanged during the flux of its qualities. My recognition of you is possible only if I persist unchanged between the original

perception and the present act of memory. The interest of this school, however, was not so much psychological as metaphysical. But whether we take the soul-entity as an explanation of the facts of our conscious experience, or as a basis for immortality, I am afraid it serves neither psychological nor metaphysical interest. Kant's fallacies of pure reason are well-known to the student of modern philosophy. The "I think," which accompanies every thought is, according to Kant, a purely formal condition of thought, and the transition from a purely formal condition of thought to ontological substance is logically illegitimate. Even apart from Kant's way of looking at the subject of experience, the indivisibility of a substance does not prove its indestructibility; for the indivisible substance, as Kant himself remarks, may gradually disappear into nothingness like an intensive quality or cease to exist all of a sudden. Nor can this static view of substance serve any psychological interest. In the first place, it is difficult to regard the elements of our conscious experience as qualities of a soul-substance in the sense in which, for instance, the weight of a physical body is the quality of that body. Observation reveals experience to be particular acts of reference, and as such they possess a specific being of their own. They constitute, as Laird acutely remarks, "a new world and not merely new features in an old world." Secondly, even if we regard experiences as qualities, we cannot discover how they inhere in the soul-substance. Thus we see that our conscious experience can give us no clue to the ego regarded

as a soul-substance; for by hypothesis the soul-substance does not reveal itself in experience. And it may further be pointed out that in view of the improbability of different soul-substances controlling the same body at different times, the theory can offer no adequate explanation of such phenomena as alternating personality, formerly explained by the temporary possession of the body by evil spirits.

Yet the interpretation of our conscious experience is the only road by which we can reach the ego, if at all. Let us, therefore, turn to modern psychology and see what light it throws on the nature of the ego. William James conceives consciousness as "a stream of thought"—a conscious flow of changes with a felt continuity. He finds a kind of gregarious principle working in our experiences which have, as it were, "hooks" on them, and thereby catch up one another in the flow of mental life. The ego consists of the feelings of personal life, and is, as such, part of the system of thought. Every pulse of thought, present or perishing, is an indivisible unity which knows and recollects. The appropriation of the passing pulse by the present pulse of thought, and that of the present by its successor, is the ego. This description of our mental life is extremely ingenious; but not, I venture to think, true to consciousness as we find it in ourselves. Consciousness is something single, presupposed in all mental life, and not bits of consciousness, mutually reporting to one another. This view of consciousness, far from giving us any clue to the ego, entirely ignores the relatively permanent element in experience.

There is no continuity of being between the passing thoughts. When one of these is present, the other has totally disappeared ; and how can the passing thought, which is irrevocably lost, be known and appropriated by the present thought ? I do not mean to say that the ego is over and above the mutually penetrating multiplicity we call experience. Inner experience is the ego at work. We appreciate the ego itself in the act of perceiving, judging, and willing. The life of the ego is a kind of tension caused by the ego invading the environment and the environment invading the ego. The ego does not stand outside this arena of mutual invasion. It is present in it as a directive energy and is formed and disciplined by its own experience. The Quran is clear on this directive function of the ego :

> " And they ask thee of the soul. Say : the soul proceedeth from my Lord's *Amr* (Command) : but of knowledge, only a little to you is given." (17 : 87).

In order to understand the meaning of the word " *Amr* ", we must remember the distinction which the Quran draws between " *Amr* " and " *Khalq.*" It has two words " *Khalq* " and " *Amr* " to express the two ways in which the creative activity of God reveals itself to us. " *Khalq* " is creation ; " *Amr* " is direction. As the Quran says : " To Him belong creation and direction." The verse quoted above means that the essential nature of the soul is directive, as it proceeds from the directive energy of God ; though we do not know how Divine " *Amr* " functions as ego-unities. The personal pronoun used in the expression " *Rabbi* " (" My Lord ") throws further light on the nature and

behaviour of the ego. It is meant to suggest that the soul must be taken as something individual and specific, with all the variations in the range, balance and effectiveness of its unity. "Every man acteth after his own manner: but your Lord well knoweth who is best guided in his path." Thus my real personality is not a thing, it is an act. My experience is only a series of acts, mutually referring to one another, and held together by the unity of a directive purpose. My whole reality lies in my directive attitude. You cannot perceive me like a thing in space, or a set of experiences in temporal order; you must interpret, understand and appreciate me in my judgments, in my will-attitudes, aims and aspirations.

The next question is: how does the ego emerge within the spatio-temporal order? The teaching of the Quran is perfectly clear on this point:

> "Now of fine clay have We created man: There We placed him, a moist germ, in a safe abode; then made We the moist germ a clot of blood: then made the clotted blood into a piece of flesh; then made the piece of flesh into bones: and We clothed the bones with flesh: *then brought forth man of yet another make.*
> Blessed, therefore, the God—the most excellent of makers." (23: 12–14.)

The "yet another make" of man develops on the basis of physical organism—that colony of sub-egos through which a profounder Ego constantly acts on me, and thus permits me to build up a systematic unity of experience. Are then the soul and its organism two things independent of each other, though somehow mysteriously united? I am inclined to think that the hypothesis of matter as an independent existence is perfectly

gratuitous. It can only be justified on the ground of our sensation of which matter is supposed to be at least a part cause, other than myself. This something other than myself is supposed to possess certain qualities, called primary, which correspond to certain sensations in me; and I justify my belief in those qualities on the ground that the cause must have some resemblance with the effect. But there need be no resemblance between cause and effect. If my success in life causes misery to another man, my success and his misery have no resemblance to each other. Yet everyday experience and physical science proceed on the assumption of an independent existence of matter. Let us, therefore, provisionally assume that body and soul are two mutually independent, yet in some mysterious way united things. However, if they are mutally independent and do not affect each other, then the changes of both run on exactly parallel lines, owing to some kind of pre-established harmony, as Leibnitz thought. This reduces the soul to a merely passive spectator of the happenings of the body. If, on the other hand, we suppose them to affect each other, then we cannot find any observable facts to show how and where exactly their inter-action takes place, and which of the two takes the initiative. The soul is an organ of the body which exploits it for physiological purposes, or the body is an instrument of the soul, are equally true propositions on the theory of inter-action. Lange's theory of emotion tends to show that the body takes the initiative in the act of inter-action. There are, however, facts to contradict this theory, and it is not possible

to detail these facts here. Suffice it to indicate that even if the body takes the initiative, the mind does enter as a consenting factor at a definite stage in the development of emotion, and this is equally true of other external stimuli which are constantly working on the mind. Whether an emotion will grow further, or that a stimulus will continue to work, depends on my attending to it. It is the mind's consent which eventually decides the fate of an emotion or a stimulus.

Thus parallelism and inter-action are both unsatisfactory. Yet mind and body become one in action. When I take up a book from my table, my act is single and indivisible. It is impossible to draw a line of cleavage between the share of the body and that of the mind in this act. Somehow they must belong to the same system, and according to the Quran they do belong to the same system. "To Him belong '*Khalq*' creation and '*Amr*' (direction)." How is such a thing conceivable? We have seen that the body is not a thing situated in an absolute void; it is a system of events or acts. The system of experience we call soul or ego is also a system of acts. This does not obliterate the distinction of soul and body; it only brings them closer to each other. The characteristic of the ego is spontaneity; the acts composing the body repeat themselves. The body is accumulated action or habit of the soul; and as such undetachable from it. It is a permanent element of consciousness which, in view of this permanent element, appears from the outside as something stable. What then is matter? A colony of egos of a low order out of which emerge finite life and

consciousness of a higher order, when their association and inter-action reach a certain degree of complexity. It is the world reaching the point of self-guidance wherein the ultimate Reality, perhaps, reveals its secret, and furnishes a clue to its ultimate nature. The fact that the higher emerges out of the lower does not rob the higher of its worth and dignity. It is not the origin of a thing that matters; it is the capacity, the significance, and the final reach of the emergent that matters. Even if we regard the basis of soul-life as purely physical, it by no means follows that the emergent can be resolved into what has conditioned its birth and growth. The emergent, as the advocates of the Emergent Evolution teach us, is an unforseeable and novel fact on its own plane of being, and cannot be explained mechanistically. Indeed the evolution of life shows that though in the beginning the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental, as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence. Nor is there such a thing as a purely physical level in the sense of possessing a materiality, elementally incapable of evolving the creative synthesis we call life and mind, and needing a transcendental Deity to impregnate it with the sentient and the mental. The Ultimate Ego that makes the emergent emerge is immanent in nature, and is described by the Quran as " the First and the Last ", " the visible and the invisible."

This view of the matter raises a very important question. We have seen that the ego is not something rigid. It organizes itself in time, and is

formed and disciplined by its own experience. It is further clear that streams of causality flow into it from Nature and from it to Nature. Does the ego then determine its own activity? If so, how is the self-determination of the ego related to the determinism of the spatio-temporal order? Is personal causality a special kind of causality, or only a disguised form of the mechanism of Nature? It is claimed that the two kinds of determinism are not mutually exclusive and that the scientific method is equally applicable to human action. The human act of deliberation is understood to be a conflict of motives which are conceived, not as the ego's own present or inherited tendencies of action or inaction, but as so many external forces fighting one another, gladiator-like, on the arena of the mind. Yet the final choice is regarded as a fact determined by the *strongest* force, and not by the resultant of contending motives, like a purely physical effect. The view that ego-activity is a succession of thoughts and ideas, ultimately resolvable to units of sensations, is only another form of atomic materialism which forms the basis of modern science. Such a view could not raise a strong presumption in favour of a mechanistic interpretation of consciousness. This newer psychology teaches us that a careful study of intelligent behaviour discloses the fact of "insight" over and above the mere succession of sensations. This "insight" is the ego's appreciation of temporal, spatial, and causal relation of things—the choice, that is to say, of data, in a complex whole, in view of the goal or purpose which the ego has set before itself for the time being. It is the sense of striving

in the experience of purposive action and the success which I actually achieve in reaching my "ends" that convince me of my efficiency as a personal cause. The essential feature of a purposive act is its vision of a future situation which does not appear to admit any explanation in terms of Physiology. The truth is that the causal chain wherein we try to find a place for the ego is itself an artificial construction of the ego for its own purposes. The ego is called upon to live in a complex environment, and he cannot maintain his life in it without reducing it to a system which would give him some kind of assurance as to the behaviour of things around him. The view of his environment as a system of cause and effect is thus an indispensable instrument of the ego, and not a final expression of the nature of Reality. Indeed, in interpreting Nature in this way the ego understands and masters its environment, and thereby acquires and amplifies its freedom.

Thus the element of guidance and directive control in the ego's activity clearly shows that the ego is a free personal causality. He shares in the life and freedom of the Ultimate Ego who, by permitting the emergence of a finite ego, capable of private initiative, has limited this freedom of His own free will. This freedom of conscious behaviour follows from the view of ego-activity which the Quran takes. There are verses which are unmistakably clear on this point :

"And say : The truth is from your Lord : Let him, then who will, believe ; and let him who will, be an unbeliever." (18. 28.)

"If ye do well to your own behoof will ye do well : and if ye do evil against yourselves will ye do it." (17. 7.)

Indeed Islam recognizes a very important fact of human psychology, i.e. the rise and fall of the power to act freely, and is anxious to retain the power to act freely as a constant and undiminished factor in the life of the ego. The timing of the daily prayer which according to the Quran restores " self-possession " to the ego by bringing it into closer touch with the ultimate source of life and freedom, is intended to save the ego from the mechanizing effects of sleep and business. Prayer in Islam is the ego's escape from mechanism to freedom.

It cannot, however, be denied that the idea of destiny runs throughout the Quran. This point is worth considering, more especially because Spengler in his *Decline of the West* seems to think that Islam amounts to a complete negation of the ego. I have already explained to you my view of *Taqdîr* (destiny) as we find it in the Quran. As Spengler himself points out, there are two ways of making the world our own. The one is intellectual; the other for want of a better expression, we may call vital. The intellectual way consists in understanding the world as a rigid system of cause and effect. The vital is the absolute acceptance of the inevitable necessity of life, regarded as a whole which in evolving its inner richness creates serial time. This vital way of appropriating the universe is what the Quran describes as " *Iman.*" *Iman* is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind: it is living assurance begotten of a rare experience. Strong personalities alone are capable of rising to this experience and the higher " Fatalism " implied in it. Napoleon is

reported to have said: "I am a thing, not a person." This is one way in which unitive experience expresses itself. In the history of religious experience in Islam which, according to the Prophet, consists in the "creation of Divine attributes in man," this experience has found expression in such phrases as: "I am the creative truth," (*Hallaj*), "I am destiny" (*Muawiya*), "I am the speaking Quran," (*Ali*), "Glory to me" (*Ba Yazid*). In the higher Sufism of Islam unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own indentity by some sort of absorption into the Infinite Ego; it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite. As Rumi says:

"Divine knowledge is lost in the knowledge of the saint!
And how is it possible for people to believe in such a thing?"

The fatalism implied in this attitude is not negation of the ego as Spengler seems to think; it is life and boundless power which recognizes no obstruction, and can make a man calmly offer his prayers when bullets are showering around him.

But is it not true, you will say, that a most degrading type of Fatalism has prevailed in the world of Islam for many centuries? This is true, and has a history behind it which requires separate treatment. It is sufficient here to indicate that the kind of Fatalism which the European critics of Islam sum up in the word *Qismat* was due partly to philosophical thought, partly to political expediency, and partly to the gradually diminishing force of the life-impulse, which Islam originally imparted to its followers. Philosophy, searching for the meaning of cause as applied to God, and taking time as the essence of the relation between

cause and effect, could not but reach the notion of a transcendent God, prior to the universe, and operating upon it from without. God was thus conceived as the last link in the chain of causation, and consequently the real author of all that happens in the universe. Now the practical materialism of the opportunist Omayyad rulers of Damascus needed a peg on which to hang their misdeeds at Kerbala, and to secure the fruits of Amir Mùaqiya's revolt against the possibilities of a popular rebellion. Mabad is reported to have said to Hasan of Basra that the Omayyads killed Moslems, and attributed their acts to the decrees of God. "These enemies of God," replied Hasan, "are liars." Thus arose, in spite of open protests by Moslem divines, a morally degrading Fatalism, and the constitutional theory known as the "accomplished fact" in order to support vested interests. In our own times philosophers have furnished a kind of intellectual justification for the finality of the present capitalistic structure of society. But since Moslems have always sought the justification of their varying attitudes in the Quran, even though at the expense of its plain meanings, the fatalistic interpretation has had very far-reaching effects on Moslem peoples. I could, in this connection, quote several instances of obvious misinterpretations; but the subject requires special treatment, and it is time now to turn to the question of immortality.

No age has produced so much literature on the question of immortality as our own, and this literature is continually increasing in spite of the victories of modern Materialism. Purely meta-

physical arguments, however, cannot give us a positive belief in personal immortality. In the history of Moslem thought Ibn-i-Rushd approached the question of immortality from a purely metaphysical point of view, and, I venture to think, achieved no results. He drew a distinction between sense and intelligence probably because of the expressions, "*Nafs*" and "*Ruh*," used in the Quran. These expressions, apparently suggesting a conflict between two opposing principles in man, have misled many a thinker in Islam. However, if Ibn-i-Rushd's dualism was based on the Quran, then I am afraid he was mistaken; for the word "*Nafs*" does not seem to have been used in the Quran in any technical sense of the kind imagined by Moslem theologians. Intelligence, according to Ibn-i-Rushd, is not a form of the body; it belongs to a different order of being, and transcends individuality. It is, therefore, one, universal and eternal. This obviously means that, since unitary intellect transcends individuality, its appearance as so many unities in the multiplicity of human persons, is a mere illusion. The eternal unity of intellect may mean, as Renan thinks, the everlastingness of humanity and civilization; it does not surely mean personal immortality.

Passing now to the teaching of the Quran. The Quranic view of the destiny of man is partly ethical, partly biological. I say partly biological because the Quran makes in this connection certain statements of a biological nature which we cannot understand without a deeper insight into the nature of life. It mentions, for instance, the fact of "*Barzakh*" —a state, perhaps, of some kind of suspense

between Death and Resurrection. Resurrection, too, appears to have been differently conceived. The Quran does not base its possibility, like Christianity, on the evidence of the actual resurrection of a historic person. It seems to take and argue resurrection as a universal phenomenon of life, in some sense, true even of birds and animals.

Before, however, we take the details of the Quranic doctrine of personal immortality we must note three things which are perfectly clear from the Quran and regarding which there is, or ought to be, no difference of opinion :

(i) That the ego has a beginning in time, and did not pre-exist its emergence in the spatio-temporal order. This is clear from the verse which I cited a few minutes ago.

(ii) That according to the Quranic view, there is no possibility of return to this earth. This is clear from the following verses :

" When death overtaketh one of them, he saith, ' Lord ! send me back again, that I may do the good that I have left undone ! ' By no means. These are the very words which he shall speak. But behind them is a *barrier* (*Barzakh*), *until the day when they shall be raised again*." (23 : 101, 102.)

" And by the moon when at her full, that from state to state shall ye be surely carried onward." (84 : 19.)

" The germs of life—Is it ye who create them ? Or are We their Creator ? It is We who have decreed that death should be among you ; yet are We not thereby hindered from replacing you with others, your likes, *or from creating you again in forms which ye know not !* " (56 : 59–61.)

(iii) That finitude is not a misfortune :

" Verily there is none in the Heavens and in the Earth but shall approach the God of Mercy as a servant. He

hath taken note of them and remembered them with exact numbering; *and each of them shall come to Him on the day* of Resurrection as a single individual." (19: 95, 96.)

This is a very important point and must be properly understood with a view to secure a clear insight into the Islamic theory of salvation. It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the infinite ego to see for himself the consequences of his past action and to judge the possibilities of his future.

"And every man's fate have We fastened about his neck: and on the Day of Resurrection will We bring forthwith to him a book which shall be proffered to him wide open: 'Read thy book: there needeth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day.'" (17: 14.)

Whatever may be the final fate of man it does not mean the loss of individuality. The Quran does not contemplate complete liberation from finitude as the highest state of human bliss. The "unceasing reward" of man consists in his gradual growth in self-possession, in uniqueness, and intensity, of his activity as an ego. Even the scene of "Universal Destruction" immediately preceding the Day of Judgment cannot affect the perfect calm of a full-grown ego:

"And there shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the Heavens and all who are in the Earth shall faint away, *save those in whose case God wills otherwise.*" (39: 69.)

Who can be the subject of this exception but those in whom the ego has reached the very highest point of intensity? And the climax of this development is reached when the ego is able to retain full

self-possession, even in the case of a direct contact with the all-embracing Ego. As the Quran says of the Prophet's vision of the Ultimate Ego:

"His eye turned not aside, nor did it wander." (53 : 17.)

This is the ideal of perfect manhood in Islam. Nowhere has it found a better literary expression than in a Persian verse which speaks of the Prophets' experience of Divine illumination:

(" Moses fainted away by a mere surface illumination of Reality: Thou seest the very substance of Reality with a smile!")

Pantheistic Sufism obviously cannot favour such a view, and suggests difficulties of a philosophical nature. How can the Infinite and the finite egos mutually exclude each other? Can the finite ego as such retain its finitude besides the Infinite Ego? This difficulty is based on a misunderstanding of the true nature of the infinite. True infinity does not mean infinite extension which cannot be conceived without embracing all available finite extensions. Its nature consists in intensity and not extensity; and the moment we fix our gaze on intensity, we begin to see that the finite ego must be *distinct*, though not *isolated*, from the Infinite. Extensively regarded I am absorbed by the spatio-temporal order to which I belong. Intensively regarded I consider the same spatio-temporal order as a confronting "other" wholly alien to me. I am distinct from and yet intimately related to that on which I depend for my life and sustenance.

With these three points, clearly grasped, the rest of the doctrine is easy to conceive. It is open to man, according to the Quran, to belong to the meaning of the universe and become immortal.

" *Thinketh man that he shall be left as a thing of no use? Was he not a mere embryo?*

" Then he became thick blood of which God formed him and fashioned him; and made him twain, male and female. Is not God powerful enough to quicken the dead?" (75 : 36–40.)

It is highly improbable that a being whose evolution has taken millions of years should be thrown away as a thing of no use. But it is only as an ever-growing ego that he can belong to the meaning of the universe:

" By the soul and He who hath balanced it, and hath shown to it the ways of wickedness and piety, blessed is he who hath *made it grow* and undone is he who hath *corrupted* it." (91 : 7–10.)

And how to make the soul grow and save it from corruption? By action:

" Blessed be He in whose hand is the Kingdom! And over all things is He potent, *who hath created death and life to test which of you is the best in point of deed; and He is the Mighty and Forgiving.*" (67 : 2.)

Life offers a scope for ego-activity, and death is the first test of the synthetic activity of the ego. There are no pleasure-giving and pain-giving acts; there are only ego-sustaining and ego-dissolving acts. It is the deed that prepares the ego for dissolution, or disciplines him for a future career. The principle of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others. Personal immortality, then, is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it. The most depressing error of Materialism is the supposition that finite consciousness exhausts its object. Philosophy and science are only one way of approaching that object. There

are other ways of approach open to us; and death, if present action has sufficiently fortified the ego against the shock that physical dissolution brings, is only a kind of passage to what the Quran describes as *Barzakh*. The records of Sufistic experience indicate that *Barzakh* is a state of consciousness characterized by a change in the ego's attitude towards time and space. There is nothing improbable in it. It was Helmholtz who first discovered that nervous excitation takes time to reach consciousness. If this is so, our present physiological structure is at the bottom of our present view of time, and if the ego survives the dissolution of this structure, a change in our attitude towards time and space seems perfectly natural. Nor is such a change wholly unknown to us. The enormous condensation of impressions which occurs in our dream-life, and the exaltation of memory which sometimes takes place at the moment of death, disclose the ego's capacity for different standards of time. The state of *Barzakh*, therefore, does not seem to be merely a passive state of expectation; it is a state in which the ego catches a glimpse of fresh aspects of Reality, and prepares himself for adjustment to these aspects. It must be a state of great psychic unhingement, especially in the case of full-grown egos who have naturally developed fixed modes of operation on a specific spatio-temporal order, and may mean dissolution to less fortunate ones. However, the ego must continue to struggle until he is able to gather himself up, and win his resurrection. The resurrection, therefore, is not an external event. It is the consummation of a life process within the ego.

Whether individual or universal it is nothing more than a kind of stock-taking of the ego's past achievements and his future possibilities. The Quran argues the phenomenon of re-emergence of the ego on the analogy of his first emergence :

> " Man saith : ' What ! After I am dead, shall I in the end be brought forth alive ? ' *Doth not man bear in mind that we made him at first when he was nought ?* " (19 : 67-68.)
>
> " It is We who have decreed that death should be among you."
>
> " Yet are We not thereby hindered from replacing you with others your likes, or from producing you in a form which ye know not ! Ye have known the first creation : will you not reflect ? " (56 : 60-62.)

How did man first emerge ? This suggestive argument embodied in the last verses of the two passages quoted above did in fact open a new vista to Moslem philosophers. It was Jahiz (d. 255 A.H.) who first hinted at the changes in animal life caused by migrations and environment generally. The association known as the " Brethren of Purity " further amplified the views of Jahiz. Ibn-i-Maskwaih (d. 421 A.H.), however, was the first Moslem thinker to give a clear and in many respects thoroughly modern theory of the origin of man. It was only natural and perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Quran, that Rumi regarded the question of immortality as one of biological evolution, and not a problem to be decided by arguments of a purely metaphysical nature, as some philosophers of Islam had thought. The theory of evolution, however, has brought despair and anxiety, instead of hope and enthusiasm for life, to the modern world. The reason is to be

found in the unwarranted modern assumption that man's present structure, mental as well as physiological, is the last word in biological evolution, and that death, regarded as a biological event, has no constructive meaning. The world of to-day needs a Rumi to create an attitude of hope, and to kindle the fire of enthusiasm for life. His inimitable lines may be quoted here :

> " First man appeared in the class of inorganic things,
> Next he passed therefrom into that of plants.
> For years he lived as one of the plants,
> Remembering nought of his inorganic state so different;
> And when he passed from the vegetive to the animal state,
> He had no remembrance of his state as a plant.
> Except the inclination he felt to the world of plants,
> Especially at the time of spring and sweet flowers ;
> Like the inclination of infants towards their mothers,
> Which know not the cause of their inclination to the breast.
>
> Again the great Creator, as you know,
> Drew man out of the animal into the human state.
> Thus man passed from one order of nature to another,
> Till he became wise and knowing and strong as he is now.
> Of his first souls he has now no remembrance,
> And he will be again changed from his present soul."

The point, however, which has caused much difference of opinion among Moslem philosophers and theologians is whether the re-emergence of man involves the re-emergence of his former physical medium. Most of them, including Shah Wali Ullah, the last great theologian of Islam, are inclined to think that it does involve at least some kind of physical medium suitable to the ego's new environment. It seems to me that this view is mainly due to the fact that the ego, as an individual, is inconceivable without some kind of local reference or empirical background. The following verse, however, throws some light on the point :

"What! when dead and turned to dust, shall we rise again?"

"Remote is such a return. *Now know we what the Earth consumeth of them and with us is a book in which account is kept.*" (50: 3, 4.)

To my mind this verse clearly suggests that the nature of the universe is such that it is open to it to maintain in some other way the kind of individuality necessary for the final working out of human action, even after the disintegration of what appears to specify his individuality in his present environment. What that other way is we do not know. Nor do we gain any further insight into the nature of the "second creation" by associating it with some kind of body, however subtle it may be. The analogies of the Quran only suggest it as a fact; they are not meant to reveal its nature and character. Philosophically speaking, therefore, we cannot go further than this—that in view of the past history of man it is highly improbable that his career should come to an end with the dissolution of his body.

However, according to the teaching of the Quran, the ego's re-emergence brings him a "sharp sight" (50: 21) whereby he clearly sees his self-built "fate fastened round his neck." Heaven and Hell are states, not localities. Their descriptions in the Quran are visual representations of an inner fact, i.e. character. Hell, in the words of the Quran, is "God's kindled fire which mounts above the hearts"—the painful realization of one's failure as a man. Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration. There is no such thing as eternal damnation in Islam. The word "eternity" used in certain verses, relating to Hell, is explained

by the Quran itself to mean only a period of time (78 : 23). Time cannot be wholly irrelevant to the development of personality. Character tends to become permanent; its re-shaping must require time. Hell, therefore, as conceived by the Quran, is not a pit of everlasting torture inflicted by a revengeful God; it is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace. Nor is Heaven a holiday. Life is one and continuous. Man marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality which "every moment appears in a new glory." And the recipient of divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding.

Naturally with such wondrous soul-experiences, the mind's eye develops a system of symbolism of its own, which attains its perfection in the Sufi thought. The exposition of this symbolism involves, says Al-Ghazzali in his *Mishkat Al-Anwar*, first of all two cardinal considerations, which afford limitless scope for investigation, but to which I shall merely allude very briefly here.

First, the science and method of symbolism; the way in which the spirit of the ideal form is captured by the mould of the symbol; the mutual relationship of the two; the inner nature of this correspondence between the world of Sense (which supplies the clay of the moulds, the materialism of the symbolism) and the world of the Realm Supernal from which the Ideas descend.

Second, the gradations of the several spirits of

our mortal clay, and the degree (28) of light possessed by each. For we treat of this latter symbolism in order to explain the former.

I. THE OUTWARD AND THE INWARD IN SYMBOLISM: TYPE AND ANTITYPE

The world is Two Worlds, spiritual and material, or, if you will, a World Sensual and a World Intelligential; or again, if you will, a World Supernal and a World Inferior. All these expressions are near each other, and the difference between them is merely one of view-point. If you regard the two worlds in themselves, you use the first expression; if in respect of the organ which apprehends them, the second; if in respect of their mutual relationship, the third. You may, perhaps, also term them the World of Dominance and Sense-perception, and, the World of the Unseen and the Realm Supernal. It were no marvel if the student of the realities underlying the terminology were puzzled by the multiplicity of these terms, and imagined a corresponding multiplicity of ideas. But he to whom the realities beneath the terms are disclosed makes the ideas primary and the terms secondary: while inferior minds take the opposite course. To them the term is the source from which the reality proceeds. We have an allusion to these two types of mind in the Koran, "*Whether is the more rightly guided, he who walks with his face bent down, or he who walks in a straight Way, erect?*"

1. *The Two Worlds: their types and antitypes.*

Such is the idea of the Two Worlds. And the next thing for you to know is, that the supernal

world of " the Realm " is a world invisible, for it is invisible to the majority of men ; and the world of our senses is the world of perception, because it is perceived of all. This World Sensual is the point from which we ascend to (29) the world Intelligential ; and, but for this connection between the two, and their reciprocal relationship, the Way upward to the higher sphere would be barred. And were this upward way impossible, then would the Progress to the Presence Dominical and the near approach to Allah be impossible too. For no man shall approach near unto Allah, unless his foot stand at the very centre of the Fold of the Divine Holiness. Now by this World of the " Divine *Holiness* " we mean the world that *transcends* the apprehension of the senses and the imagination. And it is in respect of the law of that world—the law that the soul which is a stranger to it neither goeth out therefrom, nor entereth therein—that we call it the Fold of the Divine Holiness and Transcendence. And the human spirit which is the channel of the manifestations of this Transcendence, may be perhaps called " *the Holy Valley*."

Again, this Fold comprises lesser folds, some of which penetrate more deeply than others into the ideas of the Divine Holiness. But the term Fold embraces all the gradations of the lesser ones ; for you must not suppose that these terms are enigmas, unintelligible to men of Insight. But I cannot pursue the subject further, for I see that my preoccupation with citing and explaining all this terminology is turning me from my theme. It is for you to apply yourself now to the study of the terms.

To return to the subject we were discussing : the visible world is, as we said, the point of departure up to the world of the Realm Supernal ; and the " Pilgrim's Progress of the Straight Way " is an expression for that upward course, which may also be expressed by " The Faith," " the Mansions of Right Guidance." Were there no relation between the two worlds, no inter-connection at all, then all upward progress would be inconceivable from one to the other. Therefore, the divine mercy gave to the World Visible a correspondence with the World of the Realm Supernal, and for this reason there is not a single thing in this world of sense that is not a symbol of something in yonder one. It may well hap that some one thing in this world may symbolize several things in the World of the Realm Supernal, and equally well that some one thing in the latter may have several symbols (30) in the World Visible. We call a thing typical or symbolic when it resembles and corresponds to its antitype under some aspect.

A complete enumeration of these symbols would involve our exhausting the whole of the existing things in both of the Two Worlds ! Such a task our mortal powers can never fulfil ; our human faculties have not sufficed to comprehend it in the past ; and with our little lives we cannot expound it fully in the present. The utmost I can do is to explain to you a single example. The greater may then be inferred from the less ; for the door of research into the mysteries of this knowledge will then lie open to you.

2. *An Example of Symbolism, from the Story of Abraham in the Koran.*

Listen now. If the World of the Real Supernal contains Light-substances, high and lofty, called "Angels," from which substances the various lights are effused upon the various mortal spirits, and by reason of which these angels are called "lords," then is Allah "Lord of lords," and these lords will have differing grades of luminousness. The symbols, then, of these in the visible world will be, pre-eminently, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. And the Pilgrim of the Way rises first of all to a degree corresponding to that of a *star*. The effulgence of that star's light appears to him. It is disclosed to him that the entire world beneath adores its influence and the effulgence of its light. And so, because of the very beauty and superbness of the thing, he is made aware of something which cries aloud, saying, "*This is my Lord!*" He passes on; and as he becomes conscious of the light-degree next above it, namely, that symbolized by *the moon*, lo! in the aerial canopy he beholds that star set, to wit, in comparison with its superior; and he saith, "*Nought that setteth do I adore!*" And so he rises till he arrives at last at the degree symbolized by *the sun*. This, again, he sees is greater and higher than the former, but nevertheless admits of comparison therewith, in virtue of a relationship between the two. (31.) But to bear relationship to what is imperfect carries with it imperfection—the "setting" of our allegory. And by reason thereof he saith: "*I have turned my face*

unto That Who made the heavens and the earth! I am a true believer, and not of those who associate other gods with Allah!" Now what is meant to be conveyed by this "That Who" is the vaguest kind of indication, destitute of all relation or comparison. For, were anyone to ask, "What is the symbol comparable with or corresponding to this That?" no answer to the question could be conceived. Now He Who transcends all relations is Allah, the One Reality. Thus, when certain Arabs once asked the Apostle of God, "To what may we relate Allah?" this reply was revealed, "*Say, He, Allah is one! His days are neither ended nor begun; neither is He a father nor a son; and none is like unto Him, no, not one*"; the meaning of which verse is simply that He transcends relation. Again, when Pharaoh said to Moses: "*What, pray, is the Lord of the Universe?*" as though demanding to know His essence, Moses, in his reply, merely indicated *His works*, because these were clearer to the mind of his interrogator; and answered, "*The Lord of the heavens and the earth.*" But Pharaoh said to his courtiers, "*Ha! marked ye that!*" as though objecting to Moses' evasion of his demand to be told Allah's essential nature. Then Moses said, "*Your Lord, and your first fathers' Lord.*" Pharaoh then set him down as insane. . . . He had demanded an analogue, for the description of the divine Essence, and Moses replied to him from His works. And so Pharaoh said, "*Your prophet who has been sent you is insane.*"

3. *Fundamental Examples of Symbolism: especially from the Story of Moses in the Koran.*

Let us now return to the pattern we selected for illustrating the symbolic method. The science of the Interpretation of Visions determines for us the value of each kind of symbol; for "Vision is a part of Prophecy." It is clear, is it not, that the *sun*, when seen in a vision, must be interpreted by a Sovereign Monarch, because of their mutual resemblance and their share in a common spiritual idea, to wit, sovereignty over all, and the emanation or effusion of influence and light on to all. The antitype of the *moon* will be that Sovereign's Minister; for it is through the moon that the sun sheds his light on the world in its own absence; and even so, it is through his own Minister that the Sovereign (32) makes his influence felt by subjects who never beheld the royal person. Again, the dreamer who sees himself with a ring on his finger with which he seals the mouths of men and the secrets of women, is told that the sign means the early Call to Prayer in the month of Ramadan. Again, for one who sees himself pouring olive oil into an olive-tree the interpretation is that the slave-girl he has wedded is his mother, unrecognized by him. But it is impossible to exhaust the different ways by which symbols of this description may be interpreted, and I cannot set myself the task of enumerating them. I can merely say that just as certain beings of the Spirit-World Supernal are symbolized by Sun, Moon, and Stars, others may be typified by different symbols, when the

point of conpection is some characteristic other than light.

For example, if among those beings of that Spirit-World there be something that is fixed and unchangeable ; great and never diminishing ; from which the waters of knowledge, the excellencies of revelations, issue into the heart, even as waters well out into a valley ; it would be symbolized by the *Mountain.* Further, if the beings that are the recipients of those excellencies are of diverse grades, they would be symbolized by the *Valley ;* and if those excellencies, on reaching the hearts of men, pass from heart to heart, these hearts are also symbolized by *Valleys.* The head of the Valley will represent the hearts of Prophet, Saint, and Doctor, followed by those who come after them. So, then, if these valleys are lower than the first one, and are watered from it, then that first one will certainly be the " *Right* " *Valley,* because of its signal rightness and superiority. And finally will come the lowest valley which receives its water from the last and lowest level of that " Right " Valley, and is accordingly watered from " *the margin of the Right Valley,*" not (33) from its deepest part and centre.

But if the spirit of a prophet is typified by a lighted *Lamp,* lit by means of Inspiration (" *We have inspired thee with* (*a*) *Spirit from Our power* "), then the symbol of the source of that kindling is *Fire.* If some of those who derive knowledge from the prophets live by a mere traditional acceptance of what they are told, and others by a gift of insight, then the symbol for the former, who investigate nothing, is a *Firebrand* or a *Torch* or a *Meteor ;* while the man of spiritual experience, who has

therefore something in sort common with the prophets, is accordingly symbolized by the *Warming of Fire*, for a man is not warmed by hearing about fire but by being close to it.

If the first stage of prophets is their translation into the World of Holy Transcendence away from the disturbances of senses and imagination, that stage is symbolized by "*the Holy Valley.*" And if that Holy Valley may not be trodden save after the doffing of the Two Worlds (that is, this world and the world beyond) and the soul's turning of her face towards the One Real (for this world and the world beyond are co-relatives and both are accidentia of the human light-substance, and can be doffed at one time and donned at another), then the symbol of the putting-off of these Two Worlds is the *doffing of his two sandals* by the pilgrim to Mekka, what time he changes his worldly garments for the pilgrim's robe and faces towards the holy Kaaba.

Nay, but let us now translate ourselves to the Presence Dominical once more, and speak of its symbols. If that Presence hath something whereby the several divine sciences are engraven on the tablets of hearts susceptible to them, that something will be symbolized by the *Pen.* That within those hearts whereon these things are engraved will be typified by the *Tablet*, *Book*, and *Scroll.* (34) If there be, above the pen that writes, something which constrains it to service, its type will be the *Hand.* If the Presence which embraces Hand and Tablet, Pen and Book, is constituted according to a definite order, it will be typified by the *Form* or *Image.* And if the human form has *its* definite

order, after that likeness, then is it created "*in the Image, the Form, of the Merciful One.*" Now there is a difference between saying, "In the image of the *Merciful* One," and, "In the image of *Allah.*" For it was the Divine *Mercy* that caused the image of the Divine Presence to be in that "Image." And then Allah, out of his grace and *mercy,* gave to Adam a summary "image" or "form," embracing every genus and species in the whole world, insomuch that it was as if Adam were all that was in the world, or were the summarized copy of the world. And Adam's form—this summarized "image"—was inscribed in the handwriting of Allah, so that *Adam* is the Divine handwriting, which is not the characters of letters (for His Handwriting transcends both characters and letters, even as his Word transcends sound and syllables, and His Pen transcends Reed and Steel, and His Hand transcends flesh and bone). Now, but for this *mercy,* every son of Adam would have been powerless to know his Sovereign-Lord; for "only he who knows himself knows his Lord." This, then, being an effect of the divine mercy, it was "in the image *of the Merciful One,*" not "in the image of Allah," that Adam was created. So, then, the Presence of the Godhead is not the same as the Presence of the Merciful One, nor as the Presence of the Kingship, nor as the Presence of the Sovereign-Lordship; for which reason He commanded us to invoke the protection of all these Presences severally. "*Say, I invoke the protection of the Lord of mankind, the King of mankind, the Deity of mankind!*" *If this idea did not* underlie the expression "Allah created man in the image

of the Merciful," the words would be linguistically incorrect; they should then have run, "after His image." But the words, according to Bokhari, run, "After the image of the Merciful."

But as the distinction between the Presence of the Kingship and the Presence of the Lordship call for a long exposition, we must pass on, and be content with the foregoing specimen of the symbolic method. For indeed it is a shoreless sea.

But if you are conscious of a certain repulsion from this symbolism, you may comfort yourself by the text, "*He sent down from heaven rain, and it flowed in the valleys, according to their capacity*"; for the commentaries on this text tell us that the Water here is *knowledge*, and the Valleys are *the hearts of men*.

This Allusion is well portrayed in Khyyam, in his Rubayyat, as follows:

> Listen again. One Evening at the Close
> Of Ramazan, ere the better Moon arose,
> In that old Potter's Shop I stood alone
> With the clay Population round in Rows.
>
> And, strange to tell, among the Earthen Lot
> Some could articulate, while others not:
> And suddenly one more impatient cried—
> "Who is the Potter, pray, and who the Pot?"
>
> Then said another—"Surely not in vain
> My Substance from the common Earth was ta'en,
> That he who subtly wrought me into Shape
> Should stamp me back to common Earth again."
>
> Another said—"Why, ne'er a peevish Boy,
> Would break the Bowl from which he drank in Joy;
> Shall He that made the Vessel in pure Love
> And Fancy, in an after Rage destroy!"
>
> None answer'd this; but after Silence spake
> A Vessel of a more ungainly Make:
> "They sneer at me for leaning all awry;
> What! did the Hand then of the Potter shake?"

Said one—" Folks of a surly Tapster tell,
And daub his Visage with the Smoke of Hell;
They talk of some strict Testing of us—Pish!
He's a Good Fellow, and 'twill all be well."

Then said another with a long-drawn Sigh,
" My Clay with long oblivion is gone dry:
But, fill me with the old familiar Juice,
Methinks I might recover by and by."

So while the Vessels one by one were speaking,
One spied the little Crescent all were seeking:
And then they jogg'd each other, " Brother, Brother!
Hark to the Potter's Shoulder-knot a-creaking!"

Ah, with the Grape my fading Life provide,
And wash my Body whence the Life has died,
And in a Winding-sheet of Vine-leaf wrapt,
So bury me by some sweet Garden-side.

That ev'n my buried Ashes such a Snare
Of Perfume shall fling up into the Air,
As not a True Believer passing by
But shall be overtaken unaware.

Indeed the Idols I have loved so long
Have done my Credit in Men's Eye much wrong:
Have drown'd my Honour in a shallow Cup,
And sold my Reputation for a Song.

Indeed, indeed, Repentance oft before
I swore—but was I sober when I swore?
And then and then came Spring, and Rose-in-hand
My thread-bare Penitence apieces tore.

And much as Wine has play'd the Infidel,
And robb'd me of my Robe of Honour—well,
I often wonder what the Vintners buy
One half so precious as the Goods they sell.

Ultimately a stage is appreciated of an Existence of *Fana* and *Baqa*, that is of that which Perishes and that which Always Remains; or the faculty and process of being absorbed into the Essence of Supreme Being. *Fana*, says Khaja, in its literal sense is the state of a *shay* (thing), that does not last; i.e. when permanence of the state comes to an end, it is said to have attained *fana*. The

world will attain the state of *Fana*; and the Futurity will remain in *baqa* (*Wal akiratu khairun wa abqa*). *Fana* is not considered to be an attribute; it is not like a dissolution, as of sugar in water. The author of *Kashful-Mahjub* thinks that it is not the disappearance of essence. *Baqa* is that which was not, and became; and will not subsequently become *Fana*, like heaven and hell. It is also that which was not non-existent before, and will not be non-existent afterwards like the Essence of God. The Mutakallimin (the Moslem Scholastic Theologians) consider that *Fana* is the process of the becoming *nought* of the attributes of a *shay*; and *Baqa* is the everlastingness of the same attributes. With the Sufi, *Fana* is the non-cognizance of one's attributes as one's own; and *Baqa* is the recognition of the same as the attribute of God. In *Fana*, the *abd* has no consciousness of his self, i.e. his self does not exist for him; but he is conscious " only of the manifester, the manifested and the manifestation." So long as you are present in your own sight, God disappears; and when He is present in your sight, you disappear." Take an example, when you are concentrated on words, you lose sight of ink, and when you are concentrated on ink, you lose sight of words. Shah Kamal, a Sufi poet of Gurrumkondáh in Cuddapah, has said,

Dhat wa sifat merc Dhat wa sifat uske
Bande mein awr Khuda mein nisbat isay khat ta hain.

My attributes and my essence are His attributes and His Essence.

This is what forms relationship between *abd* and God.

In *Fana*, the significance of the *possible* disappears in the consciousness of the *aariff*; the material body of him, of course, does not. Some consider that *Fana* is the disappearance of a *shay* in knowledge, and not the actual disappearance of corporeality. Others consider that it is disappearance *in sight*.

Some others again consider that it is the disappearance of the " I "-ness (Ego) of *abd* in the " I "-ness of God. In *Fana*, the *abd* finds this limitation (*tai-yunat*) as the limitation of God and spreads his " I "-ness everywhere. In *baqa*, he finds everything as his own manifestation. The limited consciousness of *abd* is lost in the unlimited consciousness of God. In *Baqa*, the consciousness of *abd* is lost in the unlimited consciousness of God. In *Baqa*, the consciousness of God underlies the consciousness of *abd*. Jalaludd-ini-Rumi says:

Ilmi-haq-dar ilmi sufi gum shawad
Aein sakhun kai ba wari mardum shawad
Ilim-i-Haq nukt ast wu ilmi-sufi khat
Az wujud nuqt bashad bud-i-khat.

The consciousness of God is lost in the consciousness of sufi,
How can common people believe in this ?
Sufis' knowledge is line and God's knowledge, point:
The existence of a line depends on the existence of point.

The Sufi thus finds his *self*-annihilated; and also himself without the self-everlasting. This is cosmic consciousness which the Quran has called Maqami Mahmud (the Praised Station), which is reserved for the Prophet (Peace on Him); and from which he will plead for intercession on the Day of Judgment.

St. Bernard, thy mystic of Rhineland, of the fourteenth century, identified his own thoughts

with the mind of God. With the Christian Mystics of Germany, annihilation was not making nought of the reality of *abd*, but it was making nought of the aspect of humanity in Divinity. It said that the question of Khilafat was, in the first instance, determined by the answer given to the question of *Fana* and *Baqa*.

When it was announced that the Prophet (Peace be on him) had departed this life; the people gathered together at Saqifai-bani-Sad, and went up to Ali, his cousin and son-in-law (husband of his beloved daughter Fatima), and said, " What is your vision of God ? " He said, " I do not see *shay*, but I see only God." (*Ma raytu shayan illa raytullah.*) Then they went to Othman, another son-in-law, and put the same question to him. He said, " I do not see *shay*, but I see God after it " (*Ma raytu shayan illa raytulla ha badabu*). Then to Umar. He said, " I do not see *shay*, I see God before it " (*Ma raytu shayan illa raytulla ha qublahu*). Then they went to Abu Bakr. He said, " I do not see *shay*, but I see God along with it " (*Ma raytu shayan illa raytulla ha ma a hu*). Now about the time of the demise of the Prophet, there were 144,000 companions (according to the article on " Ashab " in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*). The electorate thought that although the " vision of God " of Ali was the most perfect, yet it was too non-practicable to steer the ship of the state; and so they elected Abu Bakr, who had both the *rab* and *abd* in view at the same time, to be the first Khaliph of Islam.

In *fana*, the essence, attribute and action of *abd* become the essence, attribute and action of God,

and not that those of *abd* are dissolved like sugar in water, in the essence, attributes and actions of God. The *abd* has no consciousness of " Other than God " (*ma siwalla*), God becomes actor, and *abd* becomes His instrumentality (*Qurb-i-Farayiz*). Jellaluddin Rumi has expressed this in the form of an allegory.

Nuh guft ay sar kashan man man nayam
Man zi jan mardum zi janna mi ziyann
Chun bi murdam az hawas i-bul bashar
Haq mara shud sam o idrak o basar
Chun ki man man nis tam, aein dam zi oust
Peish i aein dam har ki dam zad kaffir oust.

Said Noah to his nation, " I am not I,"
I am not, It is God that lives.
When the " I "ness disappears from the sense of man,
It is God that talks, hears and understands.
When the " I " is not I, the " I " is the breath of God
It is a sin to assert one's " I " with Him.

The reverse process in which *abd* becomes actor and God his instrumentality is called *Qurbi-Nawafil wabi yasmau wa bi yabsuru* (Through Me, he hears and through Me, he sees). Those who see the world in evidence, and the Truth hidden are called the men of reason (*zawil-aql*) ; and those who see the Truth in evidence and the world hidden are called the men of sight (*Zawilayn*). The *Fana* is said to be of two kinds, the *Fana* in essence like ice or hail disappearing in water, and the *Fana* in attributes, like iron disappearing in fire, *protem*. In the first instance, the *abd* becomes Him (*Hu-Hu*) ; in the second, he becomes like Him (*Ka anna hu-hu*). The first *Fana*, which is in *Dhat*, is the privilege of the Prophet (Peace on Him), and none else ; since the Reality of Muhammad was the first cognition of God as Himself. This is not the name of a mere state of consciousness. Bayazid-Bistami

has said that everybody has his state (*hal*). *Hal* is the result of thought—the Perfect man is not subject to thought, he has the reality of illumination; his mind's eye (*oculus cordis* as the Latin mystics called it) is opened, and he is illumined; and *Baqa* is not therefore the mere result of ecstasy (*wajd*). *Fana* is attained in various ways. In the first instance, there is the attraction from God. The Quran says that "an attraction from God is equal in effect to the virtues practised in both the worlds (*jaz batun min jazbat illahi mutawazi min amalith thaqalayn*). A Hadith says: "There is a time for me with God; in which neither the nearest angels, nor the sent prophets can be contained (*Li maallahu waktum la yas ani fi hil malikkil muqara bun wa law nabiyyil-i-mursalun*). The term *Fana* was made use of to express the sense of the result of attraction and absorbtion by Abu Said Ahrar. In the second instance, it is realized by the observance of *ahkami-Shariat* (the Ordinances of Shariat), an account of the spiritual significance of which will be given in the chapter on the "Five Pillars of Islam." The esotericism of the Shariat is the establishment of connection between *Rab* and *abd*. The exotericism of the same—is the maintenance and practice of certain bodily actions, i.e. certain bodily actions must be performed to keep up this connection. Loyalty to the King is the *Summum bonum* of life, corporal life of an individual or the corporate life of a community. When once loyalty is established, it must be kept up. Otherwise, with disuse, it might lose its strength and vitality. Use and disuse have played a most important part in the formation of the

organized world. By the process of use and disuse, Charles Darwin thought, new species evolved and old species disappeared. Similarly use and disuse play an important part in preserving, strengthening, and perfecting a feeling. The sense of oneness with God can be maintained by the performance of certain acts. These acts are the ordinances of Islam, which are compulsory on all Moslems. The acts can never be dispensed with, seeing that human nature is what it is. Adepts have, however, devised short-cuts to an attainment of a knowledge of God. There are as many ways to God, as there are souls of men (*Al turqu ilallahi ka nufus-i-bani adama*).

Excepting the Azad-mashrab-Sufis who have discarded outward demonstration, all are agreed in keeping up the law and the Prophets. A *Pir-i-Kamil* is therefore one who strictly observes the outward law, while he adopts his own short method. This method consists in what is called *saluk* (pilgrimage). The course of the downward arc is the *Tanazulat-i-sitta* (the six downward stages) *vide* the "theory of emanation." It is the Journey of God towards *abd*, the journey of the ocean towards the drop. The course of the *abd* in the corresponding upward arc is his own *suluk*, it is the journey of *abd* towards God; the journey of the drop towards the ocean; and it consists of four stages according to Shaykh Abdul Karim-i-Jili.

1st. *Safar-ullah.* This journey of *abd* towards knowledge, journey from sinfulness towards submission to ceremonial institutions.

2nd. *Safar-ilallah.* Journey from neglectfulness

towards the repetitions of God's name or of the *ism* of which the *abd* is a manifestation (according to Kaisari).

3rd. *Safar-billah.* When the *salik* (pilgrim) reaches the summit, he comes down again to the lowest point with the attributes of God for the reformation and enlightenment of the world. Gulshani-Raz says :

> *Kasi mardi-tamam ast az tawmami*
> *Kounad ba khwaja gi kari ghulami.*
>
> He is the perfect man who with his perfection,
> And in spite of his mastery, does the work of a slave.

4th. *Safar-fillah,* i.e. journey back on the lines of God's names and attributes.

In the *safar-il-allah,* the *abd* attains *fana,* and in the *safar-fillah,* he attains *baqa.* In the first, he merges into the *ism,* of which he is a manifestation. In the second, he obtains permanence (permanent hold) in that *ism.* The Prophet, however, reverted to the *shan* from which he was directly manifest.

In *safar-il-allah,* the *salik* is still in limitation, i.e. he is still a *salik,* only that he has acknowledged that there is no existence save that of God. In *safar-fillah,* the mysteries of Nature clear off before him, he becomes *mujzub* (the attracted). *Fana* is the termination of *safar-il-allah ;* and *Baqa* is the commencement of *safar-fillah.* With the sect of Shuttaris, the *salik* descends, of himself, in his own knowledge—there is no annihilation of self with them. *Faqr* is another word for *fana.* The Prophet has said : " *Faqr* is my pride, and it is from me (*Al Faqr u faqri wl faqr-u-minni*). He also said *faqr* is the blackening of the face in both the worlds (*Al faqruswadul wajh fid darain*),

i.e. when the face is blackened it disappears. A *faqir* is therefore synonymous with *fani* (one who has attained *fana*). Some, however, omit the first *safar;* Kaisari in his commentary on *Fusus-ul-Hakim* (*Fasi-Adami*) refers only to the last three stages, of which the first two are in the ascending scale; and the last, in the descending.

In performing these journeys, some *saliks* have sudden elevation and transport, like in the case of Jacob Behmen, the cobbler-mystic of Gorlitz in Germany; and St. Paul who suddenly got into a state ecstasy. The mysticism of the Middle Ages was united with the dialectics (*Kalam*) of the Schoolmen, by Hugo of the School of St Victor in Paris; as the Sufism of Islam was united with Ilmi-Kalam by the Imam Hujjatul-Islam (Ghazzali). Hugo made a threefold division of human faculties, *cogitatio* (*Mujahada*), *meditatio* (*Muraqaba*), and *contemplatio* (*Mushashada*). In his loftiest elevation, man beholds all things in God. Richard of the School of St. Victor had six stages of contemplation, two visible, two invisible, and two divine. The Sufi has four stages in his upward course. First, he observes that all objects are the manifestation of God's names and attributes. These are the multitudinous objects in which He is reflected. Here he performs a *jihad* against his *nafs*, which considers objects as having independent existence. This is *mujahada*. Then he observes that the world, as a whole, is a mirror and manifestation of God's names and attributes. This is *mukashafa*. Then he sees that his own knowledge surrounds all things. He is thus the mirror in which the world is reflected. Before, the

non-ego was the mirror; now his own ego is the mirror. This is *muraqaba*. Then he removes all objects including his self (i.e. both ego and non-ego) from view as non-existent and finds the seer and perceiver is God Himself. This is *mushahada*. *Kullu man alaiha fan wa yabqa wujhu rabba ka zul jalali wal ikram.* (All objects are to be annihilated; and there will remain the face of the Lord thy God —with His glory and beauty.) Maulana-Rumi has put the same idea in a terse manner.

Gar tu bar khizi zi ma wu man dami
Har du alam pur zi khud bini hami
Aein ta'ayyun shud hijab i ru-i-dost
Chun ki bar khizad taayyun jumla'ust.

If, for a while, you rise higher than I and Thou,
You will find both the worlds full of yourself,
This taayyun is the veil on the face of thy friend,
When the taayyun disappears all is Him.

The doctrine of the Hama-o-ust is not therefore that all things taken together are God—as the pantheists affirm; but it is the disappearance of all *taayyunt* in the knowledge or sight or both of the *Salik;* in whose view, the worlds are limitations of appearances—and the reality is the essence of God.

In this, the final stage, the *abd* may be said to be reincarnated. He has died to himself, and lives in the life of God. There is no reincarnation with the Sufi, in the sense of God taking on flesh and appearing among mankind for their reformation; like in the case of Sri Krishna, who is reported to have said:

Chu ahwal-i-dun ya bi gardad khasay
Numayim khud ra bi shakli kasay

When the affairs of the world become rotten,
I shew myself in the semblance of somebody.

Here, it is the *salik* that transforms himself mentally, morally and spiritually into another character ; so much so, that his essence, attributes, and action become the Essence, attributes, and actions of God. He " is born again, not of corruptible seed, but of uncorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." Gulshani-Raz says (348–49) :

Baqa-i-yabad wu bad az fana baz
Rawad anjami wu digar bi agaz
Shariat ra shaari khish sazad
Tarikat ra wi sari khish sazad.

He finds life after dying to self and again
He runs another course, from his end to his beginning.
He makes the law his upper garment
But know very truth is the station of his nature.

In the journeys on the upward arc (*safar-il-allah* and *safar-fillah*), God is the mirror of *salik*. The mirror, in the intensification of gazing, vanishes from view (i.e.) gets hidden ; and the *salik* sees his self, and works up his way. In the subsequent downward journey (*safar-billah*) from *Wahdat* to the stage of man, the *salik* becomes the mirror and vanishes, and God alone remains. In *safar-fillah*, the attributes of *salik* disappear, and the attributes (*ergo*, *asma*) of God alone remain ; the *salik* works himself up in the attributes of God ; the *sifat* of *abd* are the *sifat* of God in limitation.

Sufi na shwad safi ta dar na kashad jami
Bisyar safar bayad ta pukhta shawad kami.

Sufi does not become pure till he has drunk of the cup
Much journeying is required for the unripe one to become ripe

God has, of His own accord, as it were, become accustomed to such limitations, and finds it against His will to throw them off. The *salik* endeavours to throw off these limitations and become absolute.

The limitations cover God's absolutism, who estranges Himself from Himself. In this stage, the *salik* retains only the most absolutely necessary *farz* and *sunnut*, and discards even benevolences; as Shah Muhiyyuddin Sahib of Vellore and Saiyed Muhammad Makhdum bin Abdul Nabi Savi have remarked.

When the *salik* has accustomed himself to absolutism, he reverts to limitations in his *Safar-billah* and becomes *Masawi-ut-tarafain* (i.e. equipoised between two extreme distances and forces); to whom creation is not veil from the Creator, and *vice versa;* and to whom necessary existence and possible existence are equal; and who has, by the aid of Fikr, discovered the Hazrat-i-Khamsa, and their details in his individuality, and become the perfect man. This is the stage, in which *awliya* and Prophets take their stand.

When the *salik* after *mujahada*, enters upon the stage of *mukashafa*, he meets with photisms, epiphanies, or *tajallyyat*. A *tajalli* means a disclosure, an opening-out of certain mysteries. It is the manifestation of *Dhat* without the instrumentality of *shuyunat*, *asma*, attributes and hypostases. The first is the sphere of colours; these are Satanic, i.e. that in which the *Salik's nafs* predominates. Mr. Meyer calls them hypnagogic and hypnopomic illusions. These are vivid illusions of sight or sound, "faces in the dark," etc. They may be remnants of the impressions of light on the retina in one or more of its seven primary colours, after the eyes are closed. or the impressions of a dawning light, when sleep is departing; or they may be the work of an imagining brain—True

photisms are, however, reflections from *Alam-i-mithal* (Veridical thought-world, which is a world of colours). The last sphere is a colourless region, or as the Quran puts it, "With God, there is no morning or evening." (*Ma indil lahi sub-un-wa la masa un.*). Ahu Said Abul Khayr (ob. 1049 A.D.) has divided Illuminations into three kinds. First *buruq*. These are flashes of lightning (forked lightning) which leave appearances of stars behind. Then *Lawamih* which may be compared to sheet-lightning; it is like the light of the Sun falling on the surface of transparent water. The third is *Liwayih;* it is compared to a shining lamp (*sirajan muniran*). The *suluk* of the Patriarch Abraham is borne out by the Quran (*Surut-ul Anam Ruku* 9). The story that Abraham was brought up in a cavern; and at the end of three years brought out of it, is only an idea of the commentators; and similarly no more importance is to be attached to the story, that he made the remarks in his sixteenth or fortieth year as maintained by Maimonides and R. Abraham Zucuc; or that he made them by way of argument to convince the idolators amongst whom he lived, as observed by Moslem commentators. The fact is that the remarks refer to the *suluk* of the Patriarch. When he progressed in his *suluk,* he saw a star in the dark recesses of his heart; and said, "This is my Lord" (*Haza rabbi*); and when it set, he said, "I do not like that which sets." (*La yuhibb ul afilin.*) He saw the Moon rising and setting; and so also the Sun rising and setting, and made the same remarks. His conclusion was, "I turn my face towards the Lord who created the

heaven and the earth ; I am a unitarian and not a *mushrik.*" (*Inni wajjahtu wujhiya lil lazi fataras samawati wal arz hanifan wa ma ana minalmushrikin.*)

Shaykh Ahmad, the Mujaddid of the eleventh century, has, according to the progress of his *salik* in the upward course, seen different colours at different stages. He—a Naqshbandi mystic—is the discoverer of six positions in the part of man's body between the neck and the navel, which he has called the six subtilities (*Latayifi Sitta*), one encircling the other, much after the manner of Kundalini of Patanjali. The colour of *qulb* is yellow ; of *soul,* red ; of *ser,* white ; of *khafi,* black ; and of *ikfa,* green. It may be noted that these stages are according to the stages given in the doubtful Hadith mentioned in the *Ihyaul-Ulum* of Ghazzali, viz. that in the body of man, there is a lump of flesh ; in this lump, there is *qulb* or mind ; in mind, reason ; in reason, *fawad ;* in *fawad,* there is *khalfi,* and in *khalif,* there is "I." (*Ina fi jasada ibni adoma la muzghatun wa fi muzgatin qulbin aqlun, wa fi aqlun fuwad-wa fi fawad khafi wa fi khafi serrun wa fi serrun ana.*) Some say that the colour of *nafs* is blue, and of *ruh,* ochre. When the *nafs* entirely disappears, whiteness overshadows. The colour of soul often becomes green, the last stage is colourlessness, "everything disappearing, and leaving the *salik* in a state of *fana,* the Transcendental wonder—spoken of by Tennyson, which the Sufis call *Alam-i-Hayrat.* (There is no morning or evening with God.) The colour of the cloth, specially the head-dress, is indicative of the stage of the pilgrim's journey, e.g. if this cloth

is of ochre colour, it means that his *suluk* has reached the stage of *ruh*.

With this discourse, the Master Sufi Ali Ghizzali's conception of *Fana* may be compared. Prayers have three veils, he says, whereof the first is prayers uttered only by the tongue ; the second is when the mind, by hard endeavour and by firmest resolve, reaches a point at which, being untroubled by evil suggestions, it is able to concentrate itself on divine matters ; the third veil is when the mind can with difficulty be diverted from dwelling on divine matters. But the marrow of prayer is seen when He who is invoked by prayer takes possession of the mind of him who prays, and the mind of the latter is absorbed in God whom he addresses, his prayers ceasing and no self-consciousness abiding in him, even to this extent that a mere thought about his prayers appears to him a veil and a hindrance. This state is called " absorption " by the doctors of mystical lore, when a man is so utterly absorbed that he perceives nothing of his bodily members, nothing of what is passing without, nothing of what occurs to his mind—yea, when he is, as it were, absent from all these things whatsoever, journeying first *to* his Lord, then *in* his Lord. But if the thought occurs to him that he is totally absorbed, that is a blot ; for only that absorption is worthy of the name which is unconscious of absorption.

" I know these words of mine will be called an insipid discourse by narrow theologians, but they are by no means devoid of sense. Why ? The condition of which I speak is similar to the condition of the man who loves any other things—

e.g. wealth, honour, pleasures; and, just as we see some engrossed by love, we see others overpowered by anger so that they do not hear one who speaks, or see one who passes, and are so absorbed by their overwhelming passion that they are not even conscious of being thus absorbed. For so far as you attend to the absorption of your mind, you must necessarily be diverted from Him who is the cause of your absorption. . . .

"And now, being well instructed as to the nature of 'absorption,' and casting aside doubts, do not brand as false what you are unable to comprehend. God most high saith in the Koran: 'They brand as false what they do not comprehend.' The meaning of 'absorption' having been made clear, you must know that the beginning of the path is the journey *to* God and that the journey *in* God is its goal, for in this latter, absorption in God takes place. At the outset this glides by like a flash of light, barely striking the eye; but thereafter, becoming habitual, it lifts the mind into a higher world, wherein the most pure essential Reality is manifested, and the human mind is imbued with the form of the spiritual world, whilst the majesty of the Deity evolves and discloses itself. Now, what first appears is the substance of angels, spirits, prophets, and saints, for a while under the veil of I know not what beautiful forms, wherefrom certain particular verities are disclosed; but by degrees, as the way is opened out, the Divine Verity begins to uncover His face. Can anyone, I ask, who attains a glimpse of such visions, wherefrom he returns to the lower world disgusted with the vileness of all earthly things, fail to marvel at

those who, resting content with the deceits of the world, never strive to ascend to sublimer heights ? "

A very similar doctrine is taught by the writer calling himself Dionysius the Areopagite, who has been recently identified with Stephen bar Sudaili, a Syrian monk. He says the soul, following what he calls "the negative way" or method of abstraction, " after completing its ascent into that region of being which, from its very sublimity, is to the impotent human intellect a region of obscurity, becomes completely passive, the voice is stilled, and man becomes united with the Ineffable Being." " Then is he delivered from all seeing and being seen, and passes into the truly mystical darkness of ignorance, where he excludes all intellectual apprehensions and abides in the utterly Impalpable and Invisible ; being wholly His who is above all, with no other dependence, either on himself or any other ; and is made one, as to his nobler part, with the utterly Unknown, by the cessation of all knowing ; and at the same time, in that very knowing nothing, He knows what transcends the mind of man." This is simply a restatement of the doctrine of Plotinus.

Nor is it without significance that the following allegory of Moulana Jalaluddin regarding " Since it is I, no door could be opened," for " I " must of necessity " Lose Itself into Divine Spark." Here is what he says in the *Masnavi* : A certain man came and knocked at a friend's door : his friend asked him, " Who art thou, O trusty one ? "

He answered, " I." The friend said, " Begone, 'tis not the time (for thee to come in) : at a table like this there is no place for the raw."

Save the fire of absence and separation, who (what) will cook the raw one? Who (what) will deliver him from hypocrisy?

The wretched man went away, and for a year in travel (and) in separation from his friend he was burned with sparks of fire.

That burned one was cooked: then he returned and again paced to and fro beside the house of his comrade.

He knocked at the door with a hundred fears and respects, lest any disrespectful word might escape from his lips.

His friend called to him, "Who is at the door?" He answered, "'Tis thou art at the door, O charmer of hearts?"

"Now," said the friend, "since thou art I, come in, O myself: there is not room in the house for two I's.

"The double end of thread is not for the needle: inasmuch as thou art single, come into this needle."

'Tis the thread that is connected with the needle: the eye of the needle is not suitable for the camel.

How should the existence (body) of the camel be fined down save by the shears of ascetic exercises and works?

For that, O reader, the hand (power) of God is necessary, for it is the *Be, and it was* (bringer into existence) of every (seemingly) impossible thing.

By His hand every impossible thing is made possible; by fear of Him every unruly one is made quiet.

What of the man blind from birth and the leper? Even the dead is made living by the spell of the Almighty,

And that non-existence which is more dead than the dead—non-existence is compelled (to obey) when He calls it into being.

Recite (the text), *Every day He is (engaged) in some affair:* do not deem Him idle and inactive.

His least act, every day, is that He despatches three armies:

One army from the loins (of the fathers) towards the mothers, in order that the plant may grow in the womb;

One army from the wombs to the Earth, that the world may be filled with male and female;

One army from the Earth (to what is) beyond death, that every one may behold the beauty of (good) works.

This discourse hath no end. Come, hasten (back) to those two sincere and devoted friends.

And the celebrated Hafiz voices the same call of Symbolism in his poem below.

I

Arise, oh Cup-bearer, rise! and bring
  To lips that are thirsting the bowl they praise,
For it seemed that love was an easy thing,
But my feet have fallen on difficult ways.
I have prayed the wind o'er my heart to fling
The fragrance of musk in her hair that sleeps—
In the night of her hair—yet no fragrance stays
The tears of my heart's blood my sad heart weeps.

Hear the Tavern-keeper who counsels you:
  "With wine, with red wine your prayer carpet dye!"
There was never a traveller like him but knew
The ways of the road and the hostelry.
Where shall I rest, when the still night through,
Beyond the gateway, oh Heart of my heart,
The bells of the camels lament and cry:
"Bind up thy burden again and depart!"

The waves run high, night is clouded with fears,
And eddying whirlpools clash and roar;
How shall my drowning voice strike their ears
Whose light-freighted vessels have reached the shore?

I sought mine own; the unsparing years
Have brought me mine own, a dishonoured name.
What cloak shall cover my misery o'er
When each jesting mouth has rehearsed my shame!

Oh Hafiz, seeking an end to strife,
Hold fast in thy mind what the wise have writ:
" If at last thou attain the desire of thy life,
Cast the world aside, yea, abandon it!"

II

The bird of gardens sang unto the rose,
Now blown in the clear dawn: " Bow down thy head!
As fair as thou within this garden close,
Many have bloomed and died." She laughed and said:
" That I am born to fade grieves not my heart;
But never was it a true lover's part
To vex with bitter words his love's repose."

The tavern step shall be thy hostelry,
For Love's diviner breath comes but to those
That suppliant on the dusty threshold lie.
And thou, if thou would'st drink the wine that flows
From Life's bejewelled goblet, ruby red,
Upon thine eyelashes thine eyes shall thread
A thousand tears for this temerity.

Last night when Irem's magic garden slept,
Stirring the hyacinth's purpose tresses curled,
The wind of morning through the alleys stept.
" Where is thy cup, the mirror of the world?
Ah, where is Love, thou Throne of Djem?" I cried.
The breezes knew not; but " Alas," they sighed,
" That happiness should sleep so long!" and wept.

Not on the lips of men Love's secret lies,
Remote and unrevealed his dwelling-place.
Oh Saki, come! the idle laughter dies
When thou the feast with heavenly wine dost grace.
Patience and wisdom, Hafiz, in a sea
Of thine own tears are drowned; thy misery
They could not still nor hide from curious eyes.

VII

From the garden of Heaven a western breeze
Blows through the leaves of my garden of earth;
With a love like a huri I'ld take mine ease,
And wine! bring me wine, the giver of mirth!
To-day the beggar may boast him a king,
His banqueting-hall is the ripening field,
And his tent the shadow that soft clouds fling.

A tale of April the meadows unfold—
Ah, foolish for future credit to slave,
And to leave the cash of the present untold.
Build a fort with wine where thy heart may brace
The assault of the world ; when thy fortress falls,
The relentless victor shall knead from thy dust
The bricks that repair its crumbling walls.

Trust not the word of that foe in the fight !
Shall the lamp of the synagogue lend its flame
To set thy monastic torches alight ?
Drunken am I, yet place not my name
In the Book of Doom, nor pass judgment on it ;
Who knows what the secret finger of Fate
Upon his own white forehead has writ !

And when the spirit of Hafiz has fled,
Follow his bier with a tribute of sighs ;
Though the ocean of sin has closed o'er his head,
He may find a place in God's Paradise.

XIV

The nightingale with drops of his heart's blood
Has nourished the red rose, then came a wind,
And catching at the boughs in envious mood,
A hundred thorns about his heart entwined.
Like to the parrot crunching sugar, good
Seemed the world to me who could not stay
The wind of Death that swept my hopes away.

Light of mine eyes and harvest of my heart,
And mine at least in changeless memory !
Ah, when he found it easy to depart,
He left the harder pilgrimage to me !
Oh Camel-driver, though the cordage start,
For God's sake help me lift my fallen load,
And Pity be my comrade of the road !

My face is seamed with dust, mine eyes are wet.
Of dust and tears the turquoise firmament
Kneadeth the bricks for joy's abode ; and yet . .
Alas, and weeping yet I make lament !
Because the moon her jealous glances set
Upon the bow-bent eyebrows of my moon,
He sought a lodging in the grave—too soon !
I had not castled, and the time is gone.
What shall I play ? Upon the chequered floor
Of Night and Day, Death won the game—forlorn
And careless now, Hafiz can lose no more.

XVI

What is wrought in the forge of the living and life—
All things are nought! Ho! fill me the bowl,
For nought is the gear of the world and the strife!
One passion has quickened the heart and the soul,
The Beloved's presence alone they have sought—
Love at least exists; yet if Love were not,
Heart and soul would sink to the common lot—
All things are nought!

Like an empty cup is the fate of each,
That each must fill from Life's mighty flood;
Nought thy toil, though to Paradise gate thou reach,
If Another has filled up thy cup with blood;
Neither shade from the sweet-fruited trees could be bought
By thy praying—oh Cypress of Truth, dost not see
That Sidreh and Tuba were nought, and to thee
All then were nought!

The span of thy life is as five little days,
Brief hours and swift in this halting-place;
Rest softly, ah rest! while the Shadow delays,
For Time's self is nought and the dial's face.
On the lip of Oblivion we linger, and short
Is the way from the Lip to the Mouth where we pass—
While the moment is thine, fill, of Saki, the glass:
Ere all is nought!

Consider the rose that breaks into flower,
Neither repines though she fade and die—
The powers of the world endure for an hour,
But nought shall remain of their majesty.
Be not too sure of your crown, you who thought
That virtue was easy and recompense yours;
From the monastery to the wine-tavern doors
The way is nought!

What though I, too, have tasted the salt of my tears,
Though I, too, have burnt in the fires of grief,
Shall I cry aloud to unheeding ears?
Mourn and be silent! nought brings relief.
Thou, Hafiz, are praised for the songs thou hast wrought,
But bearing a stained or an honoured name,
The lovers of wine shall make light of thy fame—
All things are nought!

XVIII

Slaves of thy shining eyes are even those
That diadems of might and empire bear;
Drunk with wine that from thy red lips flow,
Are they that e'en the grape's delight forswear.

Drift, like the wind across a violet bed,
Before thy many lovers, weeping low,
And clad like violets in blue robes of woe,
Who feel thy wind-blown hair and bow the head.

Thy messenger the breath of dawn, and mine
A stream of tears, since lover and beloved
Keep not their secret ; through my verses shine,
Though other lays my flowers' grace have proved
And countless nightingales have sung thy praise.
When veiled beneath thy curls thou passest, see,
To right and leftward those that welcome thee
Have bartered peace and rest on thee to gaze !

But thou that knowest God by heart, away !
Wine-drunk, love-drunk, we inherit Paradise,
His mercy is for sinners ; hence and pray
Where win thy cheek red as red erghwan dyes,
And leave the cell to faces sinister.
Oh Khizr, whose happy feet bathed in life's fount,
Help one who toils afoot—the horsemen mount
And hasten on their way ; I scarce can stir.

Ah, loose me not ! ah, set not Hafiz free
From out the bondage of thy gleaming hair !
Safe only those, safe, and at liberty,
That fast enchained in thy linked ringlets are.
But from the image of his dusty cheek
Learn this from Hafiz : proudest heads shall bend,
And dwellers on the threshold of a friend
Be crowned with the dust that crowns the meek.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUFI SAINTSHIP

CERTAIN attributes which Lesser and Greater Saintship provide for the Sufi can be judged from the incident related regarding Sheikh Shahabuddin, but although these powers could be manifested after long and protracted Meditation, cases are frequently recorded in Sufi history where actual transportation and what is generally the " Spiritual Flight " have been performed by the Sufis. The following incident, however, is well known :

The Sultan of Egypt, having the powers of Karamat of a Sufi, summoned all the learned men of his kingdom to meet on a certain day in his palace, when there arose a dispute among them. It is said that the angel Gabriel, having one night taken Mohamed out of his bed, showed him whatever is in the seven heavens, in Paradise and in Hell, and that the same great Prophet after having had fourscore and ten thousand conferences with God, was brought back again into his bed and by the same angel. Some of the doctors advanced that all was done in so short a space of time that Mohamed, on his return, found his bed still warm, and that he took up a pot of water which was not yet run out although the pot had been thrown down the very moment the angel Gabriel carried Mohamed out of his chamber.

The Sultan who presided in this assembly maintained that this was impossible. You teach, said he, that there are seven heavens, between each of which there is no less a distance than a man can well travel in five hundred years, and that each heaven is as thick as it is distant from the next to it. How then is it possible that Mohamed, after having passed through all these heavens, and after having had fourscore and ten thousand conferences with God, should at his return find his bed still warm, his pot thrown down and the water that was in it not spilt ? Who can be credulous enough to believe so ridiculous a fable. Do you not know that if you throw down a pot full of water, though you take it up again in a moment, you will find no water in it ? The learned men answered that this indeed could not naturally be, but all things were possible to the Divine Power. The Sultan of Egypt who was of an obstinate temper, and had made it a maxim never to believe anything contrary to reason, would not give credit to this miracle, and the learned men broke up their assembly.

This dispute made a great noise in Egypt and the news of it came to the ears of the learned Sheikh Shahabuddin who, for some reasons not set down in the history, could not be present at the assembly. However, he went to the Sultan's Palace in the midst of all the heat of the day. The Sultan, informed of the doctor's visit to the Court, went to him, carried him into a stately chamber where, after having made him sit down, he spoke to him in this manner : " You need not have given yourself the trouble of coming hither, it would have been enough to have sent one of your servants

for we should willingly have granted him anything he had asked us in your name." "Sir," answered the doctor, "I am come on purpose to have a moment's conversation with your Majesty." The Sultan, who knew the Sheikh was famed for behaving himself haughtily in the presence of Princes, showed him many civilities and made him abundance of compliments.

The room they were in had four windows, on each side one. The doctor desired the King to order one of them to be shut. This being done they continued for some time their conversation, after which the doctor made one of the windows, which had the prospect of a mountain called Kzeldaghi—Red Mountain—be opened and then did the King look out. The Sultan put his head to the window, and saw on the mountain and in the plain, a body of horses, more in number than the stars of heaven, armed with bucklers and coats of mail, with their swords drawn, advancing full speed, towards the Palace. At this sight the Prince changed colour and in great dismay cried out, "O heaven! what dreadful army is this that is coming to attack my Palace?" "Be not afraid, sir," said the doctor, "there is nothing in it." In saying this he shut the window himself and opened it again the same moment; the King looked out but saw not one single person on the mountain or in the plain.

Another of the windows had the prospect of the city and the doctor made that be opened. The Sultan saw the city of Cairo all on fire and the flames ascended even to middle region of the air. "What dreadful burning is that?" exclaimed the

King, " see there my city, my fine city of Cairo reduced to ashes."

" Be not afraid, sir," said the Sheikh, " there is nothing in it." At the same time he shut the window and when he had opened it again the King saw no more the flames he had seen before.

The doctor made the third window be opened, out of which the Sultan perceived the Nile overflowing its banks, and its waves rolling with fury to drown his palace. Now, though the King, after having seen the army and the flames disappear, had no reason to be terrified at this new prodigy yet he could not help being dismayed at it. " Alas ! " cried he once more, " all is lost ; we are now undone indeed ! This dreadful inundation will bear away my palace and drown me and all my people." " Be not afraid, sir," said the doctor, " there is nothing in it." And indeed the Sheikh had no sooner shut and opened the window again than the Nile appeared pursuing its course within its banks, as usual.

He then made them open the fourth window which looked on to a parched barren desert. The other wonders had not more terrified the King than this delighted him. His eyes, which were accustomed to see nothing from this window but a barren waste, were agreeably surprised to behold Vineyards and Gardens hung with the most delicious fruits in the universe, rivulets that gently murmured as they glided and whose banks were adorned with roses, basils, balms, narcissuses and hyacinths, at once presented a pleasing object to the sight and charmed with the smell of a variety of fragrant odours. Among these flowers were

hopping up and down an infinite number of turtles and nightingales, some of which were already fallen in a trance with overstraining their little throats, while the others made the air resound with their sweet and mournful songs. The King was so charmed with all the wonders which now offered themselves to his sight that he believed he beheld the garden of Eram. " What a change is this," cried he in the excess of his admiration, " O the beautiful garden! the charming abode!" " Be not so transported, sir," said the Sheikh, " there is nothing in it." At these words the doctor shut the window and then opened it again, and the Sultan, instead of seeing those delightful phantoms, saw nothing but the desert.

" Sir," said the Sheikh, " I have shown you a great many wonders but all this is nothing in comparison with the astonishing prodigy of which I will make your majesty a witness. Give your commands for a tub full of water to be brought hither." The King ordered it to be done and when the tub was brought into the chamber the doctor said to the Sultan, " Be pleased to suffer yourself to be stripped stark naked and let a towel be girt about your loins." The King consented to have all his clothes taken off, and when the towel was girt about him, " Sir," said the Sheikh, " be pleased to plunge your head into the water, and draw it out again." The King plunged his head into the tub and in an instant found himself at the foot of a mountain on the seashore. This unheard-of prodigy astonished him more than the others. " Ah, doctor!" cried he, in a transport of rage, " perfidious doctor! that has thus cruelly deceived

me! If ever I return into Egypt from whence thou hast forced me away by thy black and detestable art, I swear I will revenge myself of thee! O mayest thou miserably perish! " He continued his imprecations against the Sheikh, but reflecting that his menaces and complaints would avail him nothing, he took courage and went to some men whom he saw cutting wood on the mountain, resolved not to discover to them who he was; for, thought he to himself, if I tell them I am a king they will not believe me but rather take me for an impostor or a madman.

The wood-cutters asked him who he was. "Good people," answered he, "I am a merchant, my ship bilged on a rock and was dashed to pieces. I have had the good fortune to save myself on a plank: you see the condition I am in which ought to excite your pity." They were concerned for his misfortune but the poorness of their circumstances would not allow them to relieve him. However, one of them gave him an old gown, and another an old pair of shoes, and when they had put him in this condition, scarcely fit to be seen, they conducted him into their city which was situated behind the mountain. They no sooner arrived there than they took leave of him and, abandoning him to Providence, went away, each to his own home. The Sultan was left alone, and though men take delight in seeing objects that are new to them, yet he was too much taken up with the thoughts of his adventure to give attention to anything he saw. He walked up and down the streets, not knowing what would become of him. He was already weary and looking for a place to lie down and rest himself,

stopped before the house of an old farrier, who, judging by his looks that he was fatigued, desired him to come in. The King did so, and sat himself down on a bench that was near the door. " Young man," said the old farrier, " may I ask you what profession you follow and what has brought you hither ? " The Sultan gave him the same answer he had given to the wood-cutters. " I met," added he, " with some good people who were cutting wood on the mountain and having told them my misfortunes, they were so kind as to give me this old gown and these cobbled shoes." " I am glad," said the farrier, " that you escaped being drowned, comfort yourself for the loss of your goods. You are young and will not perhaps be unhappy in this city where our laws and customs are very favourable to strangers who come to settle among us. Do you not intend to do so ? " " I desire nothing better," answered the Sultan, " provided I could have any prospect of retrieving my affairs." " Well, then," replied the old man, " follow the advice I am about to give you. Go this moment to the public baths of the women, set yourself down at the gate and ask each lady who comes out if she has a husband. She that shall answer you ' No ' must be your wife, according to the custom of this country."

The Sultan being determined to follow this advice bade farewell to the old man, and went to the gate of the baths, where he sat himself down. It was not long ere he saw coming out a lady of ravishing beauty. Ah ! how happy shall I be, thought he, if this lovely person be not married. Were she but mine I could forget all my misfortunes. He stopped her and said, " Fair lady, have

you a husband ? " She answered, " Yes, I have." " I am sorry for it," replied the King, " you would have made a fit wife for me." The lady went her way and soon after out came another who was frightfully ugly. The Sultan shuddered at the sight of her. " What a piece of deformity is this ! " said he. " I had rather be starved to death than live with such a creature ; I will let her pass without asking her if she be married, for fear I should hear she is not. Nevertheless, the old farrier bid me ask this question of every one of the ladies. In all appearance the custom is so, and I must submit to it. How do I know that she has a husband. Some unfortunate stranger whose ill destiny has brought him hither, as mine has me, may perhaps have married her." In short, the King resolved to ask her if she was married : she answered, " Yes," and this answer pleased him as much as that of the first lady had troubled him.

There next came out a third lady, as ugly as the other. " O heavens ! " said the King as soon as he saw her, " this is more horrible than the last. No matter ! Since I have begun I must go through with it. If she has a husband I must own there are men more to be pitied than myself." As she was going by him, he addressed himself to her and tremblingly said, " Fair lady, are you married ? " " Yes, young man," answered she without stopping. " I am glad of it," replied the Sultan. " I bless my stars," continued he, " that I have got free of these two women. But it is not yet time to rejoice. All the ladies have not come out of the baths, nor have I yet seen her that is destined for me. Perhaps I shall get nothing by the change."

He was expecting to see one as ugly as the other two, when a fourth appeared, who surpassed in beauty the first he thought so charming. What a difference, thought he, there is not so much disparity between day and night as between this fair person and the two last who came out before her! Are angels and devils to be seen in the same place? He advanced to her with a deal of eagerness. "Lovely lady," said he, "have you a husband?" She answered "No," looking on him with as much disdain as attention. Then she went away leaving the King in a deep surprise. "What am I to think of this?" said he. "The old farrier has certainly put upon me. If according to the laws of this country I am to marry this lady, why did she leave me in so rude a manner? Why put she on that haughty and disdainful air? She viewed me from head to foot, and I saw in her looks the marks of contempt and scorn. The truth is she is not much in the wrong. In justice I cannot blame her. This threadbare gown, full of holes, sets not off my good mien to the best advantage and is not proper to engage a lady's heart. I forgive her for thinking she may chance to mend herself in a husband."

While he was making reflections a slave accosted him. "Sir," he said, "I am sent to find a stranger all in tatters, and by your air methinks it is you. If you will please give yourself the trouble of following me I will lead you to a place where you are expected with great impatience." The Sultan followed the slave who led him to a great house, and showed him into an apartment very handsomely furnished, where he bid him wait a moment. The Sultan stayed fully two hours without seeing

a soul but the slave, who ever and anon came and desired him not to be impatient.

At length, there came in four ladies very well dressed, who accompanied another that glittered all over with jewels, but was yet more resplendent by her matchless beauty. The Sultan cast his eyes upon her and immediately knew her to be the last lady whom he had seen coming from the baths. She drew near him with a soft and smiling air. "Forgive me, sir," she said, "for having made you wait a little. I was loth to appear in my undress before my lord and master. You are in your own house; all you see here belongs to you. You are my husband; command me what you please and I am ready to obey you." "Madam," answered the Sultan, "not a moment ago I complained of my destiny, and now I am the happiest of men. But since I am your husband, why did you just now look so disdainfully upon me? I fancied you were shocked at the sight of me and, to confess the truth, I could not blame you much." "Sir," replied the lady, "I could not do otherwise; the ladies of this city are obliged to carry themselves haughtily in public, it is the custom, but to make amends they are very familiar in private." "So much the better," replied the king, "they are the more agreeable. But since I am master here," continued he, "to begin to exercise my little sovereignty, let somebody go and fetch me a tailor and a shoemaker, for I am ashamed to be seen in your presence in this tattered gown and these cobbled shoes which suit but ill with the rank I have hitherto held in the world." "I have taken care of that already," replied the lady. "I have

sent a slave to a Jew who sells clothes ready made and who will furnish you at once with all you want. Meanwhile, let us refresh ourselves." In saying this she took him by the hand and led him into a hall where there was a table covered with all sorts of fruits and all sweetmeats. They both sat down, and while they were eating, the four attendant ladies who stood behind them sang several songs, written by the poet Baba Saoudai. They played also on several instruments and at length their mistress took a lute and accompanying the music with her voice acquitted herself so well that the Sultan was charmed with her performance.

This concert was interrupted by the arrival of the Jewish tradesman who came into the hall with some young men who brought bundles of clothes of different colours. They looked at them all, one after another, and made choice of a white satin vest flowered with gold and a gown of purple cloth. The Jew furnished them with the rest of the apparel and went his way. Then the lady admired the good mien of the king; she was very well satisfied to have found such a husband and he well pleased to have met with so beautiful a wife.

He lived seven years with this lady, by whom he had seven sons. Both of them taking delight in an expensive way of life and loving to feed high and divert themselves, they got the better of the lady's estate. They were obliged to put away their waiting-ladies and to sell their household furniture, piece after piece, for subsistence. The Sultan's wife, seeing herself reduced to great want, said to her husband, "As long as my estate lasted, you never spared it; you lived

an idle life and enjoyed yourself. It behoves you now to think of some way or other to maintain your little family."

These words saddened the king, who went to the old farrier to ask his advice. "O my father," said he, "I am now in a worse condition than when I first came to this city. I have a wife and fourteen children, and nothing to keep them with." "Young man," replied the aged farrier, "were you not brought up to some trade?" The Sultan answered, "No." The farrier put his hand into his pocket, and taking out two *aqtchas*, gave them to the king, bidding him go immediately and buy himself some *ypes* and wait in the place where the porters plied. The king bought himself some *ypes* and went to ply among them.

Scarce had he been there a moment when a man came and asked him if he would carry a burden. "I am here for that purpose," answered the Sultan. Then the man loaded him with a great sack which the king had much ado to carry, besides, the cords wrung the skin off his shoulders. He received his hire which consisted of one *aqtcha* and carried it home. His wife, seeing he brought no more money, told him that if he earned not ten times as much every day, his whole family would soon be starved to death.

The next morning the king, overwhelmed with grief, instead of going to ply among the porters, went to the seaside, reflecting on his miserable condition. He looked very earnestly on the place where he had unexpectedly found himself by means of the science of Sheikh Shahabuddin and, recalling to mind that strange and fatal adventure, he could

not refrain from tears. Now the ceremony of ablution being indispensable before prayers, he plunged himself into the sea, but as he raised his head out of the water he was in the utmost astonishment to find himself again in his own palace, in the middle of the tub, and surrounded by all his officers. "O barbarous doctor!" cried he, perceiving the Sheikh in the same place where he had left him, "dost thou not dread that God will punish thee for having played this trick with thy Sultan and thy master?" "Sir," said the Sheikh, "why is your majesty angry with me? You but this moment plunged your head into this water. I tell you nothing but truth; if you do not believe me, ask your officers, who are eye-witnesses of it." "Yes, sir," cried all the officers with one voice, "the doctor says true." The king would not believe them. "It is full seven years that this cursed doctor has detained me in a foreign country by the force of his enchantments. I was married and have got seven daughters and as many sons, but it is not this I complain of, so much as of my being a porter. Ah! villainous Sheikh! Couldest thou be so cruel as to make me carry *ypes*?" "Well, sir," replied the doctor, "since you will give no credit to my words, I will convince you by my actions." In saying this he stripped himself naked, tied a towel round his loins, got into the tub and plunged his head into the water. While his head was covered with the water, the Sultan, who was still enraged against him and remembered how he had sworn to punish him if he ever returned to Egypt, took a sabre to cut off the doctor's head the moment he raised it up out of the tub, but the

Sheikh, by the science called *mekashefa*, knew the king's intention, and, by the science of *algaib-an alabsar*, disappeared all at once and was transported to the city of Damascus from whence he wrote to the Sultan of Egypt a letter in these words: "Know, O King, that you and I are both but poor servants of God. During the time that you plunged your head in the water, though you drew it out again in the same moment, you made a journey of seven years, you married a wife, you underwent many hardships, you got seven daughters and as many sons; you laboured hard for a livelihood; and you will not believe that our great prophet Mohamed found his bed warm and his pot of water not empty. Learn that nothing is impossible to him who, out of nothing, created heaven and earth by the single word *koun*."

CHAPTER IX

THE VALUE OF POVERTY

FAQR, or poverty, is indicated as the concomitant of Sufi's Spiritual endeavour and, therefore, the authoritative pronouncement on this subject by one of the leaders of ancient Sufi thought, should be given fully.

Ali B. Uthman Al-Jullabi Al-Hujwiri, the first Sufi writer, will have us believe that poverty has a high rank in the way of truth, and the poor, he adds, in his *Kushful Mahjub*, are greatly esteemed. As God said: " Give alms unto the poor who are kept fighting in God's cause and cannot go to and fro on the earth; whom the ignorant deem rich, inasmuch as they refrain from begging " (Kor. ii. 274). And again: " Their sides are lifted from their beds while they call on their Lord in fear and hope " (Kor. xxxii. 16). Moreover, the Prophet chose poverty and said: " O God, make me live lowly and die lowly, and rise from the dead amongst the lowly ! " And he also said: " On the day of resurrection God will say, ' Bring ye My loved ones nigh unto Me '; then the angels will say, ' Who are Thy loved ones ? ' and God will answer, saying, ' The poor and destitute.' " There are many verses of the Koran and Traditions to the same effect which, on account of their celebrity, need not be mentioned here. Among the refugees in the prophet's time were poor men who sat in his mosque and devoted them-

selves to the worship of God, and firmly believed that God would give them their daily bread and put their trust in Him. The prophet was enjoined to consort with them and take due care of them; for God said: "Do not repulse those who call on their Lord in the morning and in the evening, desiring His favour" (Kor. vi. 52). Hence, whenever the prophet saw one of them, he used to say: "May my father and mother be your sacrifice! since it was for your sakes that God reproached me."

God, therefore, has exalted Poverty and has made it a special distinction of the poor, who have renounced all things external and internal and have turned entirely to the Causer; whose poverty has become their pride so that they lamented its going and rejoiced at its coming and embraced it and deemed all else contemptible.

Now, poverty has a form and an essence. Its form is destitution and indigence, but its essence is fortune and free choice. He who regards the form rests in the form and, failing to attain his object, flees from the essence; but he who has found the essence averts his gaze from all created things, and in complete annihiliation, seeing only the All-One he hastens towards the fullness of eternal life. The poor man has nothing and can suffer no loss. He does not become rich by having anything, nor indigent by having nothing; both these conditions are alike to him in respect of his poverty. It is permitted that he should be more joyful when he has nothing, for the Shaykhs have said: "The more straightened one is in circumstances, the more expansive, or cheerful and happy, is one's

spiritual state," because it is unlucky for a dervish to have property: if he imprisons anything for his own use, he himself is imprisoned in the same proportion. The friends of God live by means of His secret bounties. Worldly wealth holds them back from the path of quietism.

STORY. A dervish met a king. The king said, "Ask a boon of me." The dervish replied, "I will not ask a boon from one of my slaves." "How is that?" said the king. The dervish said, "I have two slaves who are thy masters—covetousness and expectation."

The Prophet said: "Poverty is glorious to those who are worthy of it." Its glory consists in this, that the poor man's body is divinely preserved from base and sinful acts, and his heart from evil and contaminating thoughts because his outward parts are absorbed in contemplation of the manifest blessings of God, while his inward parts are protected by invisible grace, so that his body is spiritual and his heart divine. Then no relation subsists between him and mankind. This world and the next weigh less than a gnat's wing in the scales of his poverty; he is not contained in the two worlds for a single moment.

The Sufi Shaykhs differ in opinion as to whether poverty or wealth is superior, both being regarded as human attributes; for true wealth belongs to God who is perfect in all His attributes. Yahya b. Mu'adh al-Razi, Ahmad b. Abi. l'Hawari, Harith al-Muhasibi, Abu l'-Abbas b. 'Ata, Ruwaym, Abu 'l-Hasan b. Sim'un, and among the moderns the Grand Shaykh Abu Sa'id Fadlallah B. Muhammad al-Mayhani, all hold the view that wealth is

superior to poverty. They argue that wealth is an attribute of God, whereas poverty cannot be ascribed to Him, therefore, an attribute common to God and man is superior to one that is not applicable to God. I answer: "This community of designation is merely nominal and has no existence in reality; real community involves mutual resemblance, but the Divine attributes are eternal and the human attributes are created, hence your proof is false." I, who am 'Ali b. Uthman al-Jullabi, declare that wealth is a term that may fitly be applied to God, but one to which man has no right; while poverty is a term which may properly be applied to man, but not to God. Metaphorically, a man is called "rich" but he is not really so. Again, to give a clearer proof, human wealth is an effect due to various causes, whereas the wealth of God, who Himself is the author of all causes, is not due to any cause. Therefore, there is no community in regard to this attribute. It is not allowable to associate anything with God either in essence, attribute or name. The wealth of God consists in His independence of any one and in His power to do whatsoever He wills; such He has always been and such He shall for ever be. Man's wealth, on the other hand, is, for example, a means of livelihood, or the presence of joy, or the being saved from sin, or the solace of contemplation; which things are all of phenomenal nature and subject to change.

Furthermore, some of the vulgar prefer the rich man to the poor on the ground that God has made the former blest in both worlds and has bestowed the benefit of riches on him. Here they mean by

" wealth " abundance of worldly goods and enjoyment of pleasures and pursuit of lusts. They argue that God has commanded us to be thankful for wealth and patient in poverty—i.e. patient in adversity and thankful in prosperity, and that prosperity is essentially better than adversity. To this I reply that when God commanded us to be thankful for prosperity He made thankfulness the means of increasing our prosperity, but when He commanded us to be patient in adversity He made patience the means of drawing nigh unto Himself. He said : " Verily if ye return thanks I will give you an increase " (Kor. xiv. 7). And also, " God is with the patient " (Kor. ii. 148).

The Shaykhs who prefer wealth to poverty do not use the term " wealth " in its popular sense. What they intend is not " acquisition of a benefit " but " acquisition of the Benefactor." To gain union with God is a different thing from gaining forgetfulness of God. Shaykh Abu Sa'id—God have mercy on him—says : " Poverty is wealth in God," i.e. everlasting revelation of the truth. I answer to this that revelation implies the possibility of a veil—therefore, if the person who enjoys revelation is veiled from revelation by the attribute of wealth, he either becomes in need of revelation, or he does not ; if he does not the conclusion is absurd, and if he does, need is incompatible with wealth ; therefore that term cannot stand. Besides no one has " wealth in God " unless his attributes are permanent and his object is invariable ; wealth cannot coincide with the subsistence of an object or with the affirmation of the attributes of human nature, inasmuch as the essential character-

istics of morality and phenomenal being are need and indigence. One whose attributes still survive is not rich, and one whose attributes are annihilated is not entitled to any name whatever. Therefore the rich man is he who is enriched by God, because the term "rich in God" refers to the agent, whereas the term "enriched by God" denotes the person acted upon; the former is self-subsistent, but the latter subsists through the agent; accordingly self-subsistence is an attribute of human nature, while subsistence through God involves the annihilation of attributes. I then, who am 'Ali b. Uthman al-Jullabi, assert that true wealth is incompatible with the survival of any attribute, since human attributes have already been shown to be defective and subject to decay. Nor again does wealth consist in the annihilation of these attributes because a name cannot be given to an attribute that no longer exists, and he whose attributes are annihilated cannot be called either "poor" or "rich"—therefore, the attribute of wealth is not transferable from God to Man, and the attribute of poverty is not transferable from Man to God.

All the Sufi Shaykhs and most of the vulgar prefer poverty to wealth for the reason that the Koran and the Sunna expressly declare it to be superior, and herein the majority of Moslems are agreed. I find, among the anecdotes which I have read, that on one occasion this question was discussed by Junayd and Ibn 'Ata. The latter maintained the superiority of the rich. He argued that at the Resurrection they would be called to account for their wealth, and that such an account

entails the hearing of the Divine Word, without any mediation, in the form of reproach: and reproach is addressed by the Beloved to the lover. Junayd answered: "If He will call the rich to account, He will ask the poor for their excuse; and asking an excuse is better than calling to account." This is a very subtle point. In true love excuse is "otherness" and reproach is contrary to unity. Lovers regard both these things as a blemish, because excuse is made for some disobedience to the command of the Beloved and reproach is made on the same score; but both are impossible in true love, for the neither does the Beloved require an expiation from the lover nor does the lover neglect to perform the will of the Beloved.

Every man is "poor," even though he be a prince. Essentially the wealth of Solomon and the poverty of Solomon are one. God said to Job in the extremity of his patience, and likewise to Solomon in the plenitude of his dominion: "*Good servant that thou art!*" (Kor. xxxviii. 29, 44). When God's pleasure was accomplished, it made no difference between the poverty and the wealth of Solomon.

The author says: "I have heard that Abu 'l-Qasim Qushayri—God have mercy on him!—said: 'People have spoken much concerning poverty and wealth, and have chosen one or the other for themselves, but I choose whichever state God chooses for me and keeps me in; if He keeps me rich I will not be forgetful, and if He wishes me to be poor I will not be covetous and rebellious.'" Therefore, both wealth and poverty are Divine gifts: wealth is corrupted by forgetfulness, poverty

by covetousness. Both conceptions are excellent, but they differ in practice. Poverty is the separation of the heart from all but God, and wealth is the preoccupation of the heart with that which does not admit of being qualified. When the heart is cleared (of all except God), poverty is not better than wealth nor is wealth better than poverty. Wealth is abundance of worldly goods and poverty is lack of them: all goods belong to God: when the seeker bids farewell to property, the antithesis disappears and both terms are transcended.

All the Sufi Shaykhs have spoken on the subject of poverty. I will not cite as many of their sayings as it is possible to include in this book.

One of the moderns says: "The poor man is not he whose hand is empty of provisions, but he whose nature is empty of desires." For example, if God gives him money and he desires to keep it, then he is rich; and if he desires to renounce it, he is rich no less, because poverty consists in ceasing to act on one's own initiative. Yahya b. Mu' adh al-Razi says: "It is a sign of true poverty that, although one has reached the perfection of saintship and contemplation and self-annihilation, one should always be dreading its decline and departure." And Ruwaym says: "It is characteristic of the poor man that his heart is protected from selfish cares, and that his soul is guarded from contaminations, and that he performs the obligatory duties of religion": that is to say, his inward meditations do not interfere with his outward acts, nor vice versa; which is a sign that he has cast off the attributes of mortality. Bishr Hafi says: "That best of 'stations' is a firm resolution to endure

poverty continually." Now poverty is the annihilation of all "stations": therefore the resolution to endure poverty is a sign of regarding works and actions as imperfect, and of aspiring to annihilate human attributes. But in its obvious sense this saying pronounces poverty to be superior to wealth, and expresses a determination never to abandon it. Shibli says: "The poor man does not rest content with anything except God," because he has no other object of desire. The literal meaning is that you will not become rich except by Him, and that when you have gained Him you have become rich. Your being, then, is other than God; and since you cannot gain wealth except by renouncing "other," your "you-ness" is a veil between you and wealth: when that is removed, you are rich. This saying is very subtle and obscure. In the opinion of advanced occult philosophers it means: "Poverty consists in never being independent of poverty." This is what the *Pir*, i.e. Master 'Abdallah Ansari—may God be well pleased with him!—meant when he said that our sorrow is everlasting, that our aspiration never reaches its goal, and that our sum never becomes non-existent in this world or the next, because for the fruition of anything homogeneity is necessary, but God has no congener, and for turning away from Him forgetfulness is necessary, but the dervish is not forgetful. What an endless task, what a difficult road! The dead never become living, so as to be united with Him; the living never become dead, so as to approach His Presence. All that His lovers do and suffer is entirely a probation; but in order to console themselves they

have invented a fine-sounding phraseology and have produced " stations " and " stages " and a " path." Their symbolic expressions, however, begin and end in themselves, and their " stations " do not rise beyond their own *genus*, whereas God is exempt from every human attribute and relationship. Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri says: " When he gets nothing he is silent, and when he gets something he regards another person as better entitled to it than himself, and therefore gives it away." The practice enunciated in this saying is of great importance. There are two meanings: (1) His quiescence when he gets nothing is satisfaction, and his liberality when he gets something is love, because " satisfied " means " accepting a robe of honour," and the robe of honour is a token of proximity, whereas the lover rejects the robe of honour inasmuch as it is a token of severance; and (2) his quiescence when he gets nothing is expectation of getting something, and when he has got it, that " something " is other than God: he cannot be satisfied with anything other than God; therefore he rejects it. Both these meanings are implicit in the saying of the Grand Shaykh, Abu 'l-Qasim Junayd: " When his heart is empty of phenomena he is poor." Since the existence of phenomena is " other " (than God), rejection is the only course possible. Shibli says: " Poverty is a sea of trouble, and all troubles for His sake are glorious." Glory is a portion of " other." The afflicted are plunged in trouble and know nothing of glory, until they forget their trouble and regard the Author thereof. Then their trouble is changed into glory, and their glory into a spiritual state, and their spiritual state into love,

and their love into contemplation, so that finally the brain of the aspirant becomes wholly a centre of vision through the predominance of his imagination: he sees without eye, and hears without ear. Again, it is glorious for a man to bear the burden of trouble laid upon him by his Beloved, for in truth misfortune is glory, and prosperity is humiliation. Glory is that which makes one present with God, and humiliation is that which makes one absent from God: the affliction of poverty is a sign of "presence," while the delight of riches is a sign of "absence." Therefore one should cling to trouble of any description that involves contemplation and intimacy. Junayd says: "O ye that are poor, ye are known through God, and are honoured for the sake of God: take heed how ye behave when ye are alone with Him," i.e. if people call you "poor" and recognize your claim, see that you perform the obligations of the path of poverty; and if they give you another name, inconsistent with what you profess, do not accept it, but fulfil your professions. The basest of men is he who is thought to be devoted to God, but really is not; and the noblest is he who is not thought to be devoted to God, but really is. The former resembles an ignorant physician, who pretends to cure people, but only makes them worse, and when he falls ill himself needs another physician to prescribe for him; and the latter is like one who is not known to be a physician, and does not concern himself with other folk, but employs his skill in order to maintain his own health. One of the moderns has said: "Poverty is not-being without existence." To interpret this saying is impossible, because what is

non-existent does not admit of being explained. On the surface it would seem that, according to this dictum, poverty is nothing, but such is not the case; the explanations and consensus of the Saints of God are not founded on a principle that is essentially non-existent. The meaning here is not "the not-being of the essence," but "the not-being of that which contaminates the essence"; and all human attributes are a source of contamination: when that is removed, the result is annihilation of the attributes, which deprives the sufferer of the instrument whereby he attains, or fails to attain, his object; but his not-going to the essence seems to him annihilation of the essence and casts him into perdition.

I have met with some scholastic philosophers who, failing to understand the drift of this saying, laughed at it and declared it to be nonsense; and also with certain pretenders (to Sufism) who made nonsense of it and were firmly convinced of its truth, although they had no grasp of the fundamental principle. Both parties are in the wrong: one ignorantly denies the truth, and the other makes ignorance a state (of perfection). Now the expressions "not-being" and "annihilation," as they are used by Sufis, denote the disappearance of a blameworthy instrument and disapproved attribute in the course of seeking a praiseworthy attribute; they do not signify the search for non-reality by means of an instrument which exists.

Dervishhood in all its meanings is a metaphorical poverty, and amidst all its subordinate aspects there is a transcendent principle. The Divine mysteries come and go over the dervish, so that his

affairs are acquired by himself, his actions attributed to himself, and his ideas attached to himself. But when his affairs are freed from the bonds of acquisition, his actions are no more attributed to himself. Then he is the Way, not the wayfarer, i.e. the dervish is a place over which something is passing, not a wayfarer following his own will. Accordingly, he neither draws anything to himself nor puts anything away from himself: all that leaves any trace upon him belongs to the essence.

I have seen false Sufis, mere tonguesters, whose imperfect apprehension of this matter seemed to deny the existence of the essence of poverty, while their lack of desire for the reality of poverty seemed to deny the attributes of its essence. They called by the name of "poverty" and "purity" their failure to seek Truth and Reality, and it looked as though they affirmed their own fancies but denied all else. Every one of them was in some degree veiled from poverty, because the conceit of Sufism betokens perfection of saintship, and the claim to be suspected of Sufism is the ultimate goal, i.e. this claim belongs only to the state of perfection. Therefore the seeker has no choice but to journey in their path and to traverse their "stations" and to know their symbolic expressions, in order that he may not be a plebeian among the elect. Those who are ignorant of general principles have no ground to stand on, whereas those who are ignorant only as regards the derivative branches are supported by the principles. I have said all this to encourage you to undertake this spiritual journey and occupy yourself with the due fulfilment of its obligations.

CHAPTER X

MUSIC IN SUFISM

رویم بروی دلبر و قوال در سرود   دستم بدست شاهد مقصود در سماع

The light of mine eyes blended with my beloved's
Vision—in music Divine!

My hand resting on the hand of my Love,
In Rapturous Song!

UNLIKE the Naqshbundi Sufis another important School, namely of Chisties, enjoins upon its disciples to perform their Recitations in a louder tone, a fact that has already been indicated elsewhere in this book. Not only is this the only difference, but between the parent Order of the Nuqshbundis and this there exists a disparity of techniques, so to speak. Audition, or Sama, is not only permissible in the practices of the Order, but actually recommended. Although in the fundamental principles the two cannot differ, yet as a certain degree of departure has been thus effected it is as well to bear in mind the arguments and details regarding this fact in the development of later Sufi thought. No better master can give a better exposition of it than the author of *Kushful-Mahjub*, the more especially as he allies the music with the ushering of a state of ecstasy in the Wayfarer.

Hujwiri thinks that there are five ways of acquiring knowledge, hearing, sight, taste, smell,

and touch. God has created, he adds, for the mind these five avenues, and has made every kind of knowledge depend on one of them. Four of the five senses are situated in a special organ, but one, namely, touch, which is diffused over the whole body. It is possible, however, that this diffusion, which is characteristic of touch, may be shared by any of the other senses. The Mu'tazilites hold that no sense can exist but in a special organ (*mahall-i-makhsus*), a theory which is controverted by the fact that the sense of touch has no such organ. Since one of the five senses has no special organ it follows that, if the sense of touch is generally diffused, the other senses may be capable of the same diffusion. Although it is not my purpose to discuss this question here I thought a brief explanation necessary. God has sent Apostles with true evidences, but belief in His Apostles does not become obligatory until the obligations of knowing God is ascertained by means of hearing. It is hearing, then, that makes religion obligatory; and for this reason the Sunnis regard hearing as superior to sight in the domain of religious obligation (*taklif*). If it be said that vision of God is better than hearing His word, I reply that our knowledge of God's visibility to the faithful in Paradise is derived from hearing: it is a matter of indifference whether the understanding allows that God shall be visible or not, inasmuch as we are assured of the fact by oral tradition. Hence, hearing is superior to sight. Moreover, all religious ordinances are based on hearing and could not be established without it; and all the prophets on their appearance first spoke in order that those

who heard them might believe. Then in the second place they showed miracles (*mu'jiza*), which also were corroborated by hearing. What has been said proves that anyone who denies audition, denies the entire religious law.

CHAPTER ON THE AUDITION OF THE KORAN AND KINDRED MATTERS

The most beneficial audition to the mind and the most delightful to the ear is that of the word of God which all believers, and unbelievers, human being and peris alike, are commanded to hear. It is a miraculous quality of the Koran that one never grows weary of reading and hearing, so that the Quraysh used to come secretly by night and listen to the Apostle while he was praying and marvel at his recitation ; e.g. Nadr b.al-Harith, who was the most elegant of them in speech, and 'Utba b.Rabi'a, who was bewitchingly eloquent, and Abu Jahl b.Hisham, who was a wondrous orator. One night 'Utba swooned on hearing the Apostle recite a chapter of the Koran and he said to Abu Jahl : " I am sure that these are not the words of any created being." The peris also came and listened to the word of God and said : " *Verily we heard a marvellous recitation which guides to the right way, and we shall not associate anyone with our Lord* (Kor. lxxii. 1–2). It is related that a man recited in the presence of Abdallah b.Hanzala : " *They shall have a couch of Hell-fire, and above them shall be quilts thereof* " (Kor. vii. 39). Abdallah began to weep so violently that, to quote the narrator's words : " I thought life would depart from him." Then he

rose to his feet. They bade him sit down but he cried: "Awe of this verse prevents me from sitting down." It is related that the following verse was read in the presence of Junayd: "*O believers, why say ye that which ye do not?*" (Kor. lxi. 2). Junayd said: "O Lord, if we say, we say because of Thee, and if we do, we do because of Thy blessing: where, then, is our saying and doing?" It is related that Shibli said on hearing the verse: "Remember thy Lord when thou forgettest" (Kor. xviii. 23). "Remembrance of God involves forgetfulness of self, and all the world have stopped short at the remembrance of Him"; then he shrieked and fell senseless. When he came to himself he said: "I wonder at the sinner who can hear God's word and remain unmoved." A certain Shaykh says: "Once I was reading the word of God, 'Beware of a day on which ye shall be returned unto God' (Kor. ii. 281). A heavenly voice called to me: 'Do not read so loud; four peris have died from the terror inspired in them by this verse!'" A dervish said: "For the last ten years I have not read nor heard the Koran except that small portion thereof which is used in prayer." On being asked why, he answered: "For fear lest it should be cited as an argument against me." One day I came into the presence of Shaykh Abu l-Abbas Shaqani and found him reading: "God propoundeth as a parable an owned slave who hath naught in his power" (Kor. xvi. 77) and weeping and shrieking so that he swooned I thought he was dead. "O Shaykh," I cried, "what ails thee?" He said: "After eleven years I have reached this point in my set portion of the Koran and am unable

to proceed farther." Abu l-Abbas b.'Ata was asked how much of the Koran he read daily. He answered: "Formerly I used to read the whole Koran twice in a day and night, but now, af er reading for fourteen years, I have only reached the Surat-al-Anfal." It is related that Abu'l-Abbas Qassab said to a Koran reader, "Recite," whereupon he recited: "*O noble one, famine hath befallen us and our people and we are come with a petty merchandise*" (Kor. xii. 88). He said once more, "Recite," whereupon the reader recited: "*If he stole a brother of his hath stolen heretofore*" (Kor. xii. 77). Abu 'l-Abbas bade him recite a third time, so he recited: "*No blame shall be laid upon you this day: God forgiveth you, etc.*" (Kor. xii. 92). Abu l-Abbas cried: "O Lord, I am more unjust than Joseph's brethren and Thou art more kind than Joseph; deal with me as he dealt with his wicked brethren."

All Moslems, pious and disobedient alike, are commanded to listen to the Koran for God hath said: "*When the Koran is recited hearken thereto and be silent that perchance ye may win mercy*" (Kor. vii. 203). And it is related that the Apostle said to Ibn Mas'ud: "Recite the Koran to me." Ibn Mas'ud said: "Shall I recite it to thee, to whom it was revealed?" The Apostle answered: "I wish to hear it from another." This is a clear proof that the hearer is more perfect in state than the reader, for the reader may recite with or without true feeling, whereas the hearer feels truly, because speech is a sort of pride and hearing is a sort of humility. The Apostle also said that the chapter of Hud had whitened his hair. It is

explained that he said this because of the verse at the end of that chapter: "*Be thou steadfast, therefore, as thou hast been commanded*" (Kor. xi. 114), for man is unable to be really steadfast in fulfilling the Divine commandments, inasmuch as he can dothing without God's help.

SECTION

Zurara b.Abi Awfa, one of the chief Companions of the Apostle, while he was presiding over the public worship, recited a verse of the Koran, uttered a cry and died. Abu Ja'far Juhani, an eminent Follower, on hearing a verse which Salih Murri read to him, gave a loud moan and departed from this world. Ibrahim Nakha'i relates that while he was passing through a village in the neighbourhood of Kufa, he saw an old woman standing in prayer. As the marks of holiness were manifest on her countenance he waited until she finished praying and then saluted her in the hope of gaining a blessing thereby. She said to him: "Dost thou know the Koran?" He said: "Yes." She said: "Recite a verse." He did so, whereupon she cried aloud and sent her soul forth to meet the vision of God. Ahmad b.Abi'l-Hawari relates the following tale: "I saw in the desert a youth clad in a coarse frock standing at the mouth of a well. He said to me: 'O Ahmad, thou art come in good time for I must needs hear the Koran that I may give up my soul. Read me a verse.' God inspired me to read: 'Verily, those who say "God is our Lord" and then are steadfast' (Kor. xli. 30). 'O Ahmad,' said he, 'by the Lord of the Ka'ba, thou hast read the same verse which an angel was

reading to me just now,' and with those words he gave up his soul."

CHAPTER ON THE AUDITION OF POETRY, ETC.

It is permissible to hear poetry. The Apostle heard it and the Companions not only heard it but also spoke it. The Apostle said, "Some poetry is wisdom," and he said, "Wisdom is the believer's lost she-camel: wherever he finds her, he has the best right to her"; and he said too, "The truest word ever spoken by the Arabs is the verse of Labid:

> 'Everything except God is vain,
> And all fortune is inevitably fleeting.'"

Amr b. al-Sharid relates that his father said: "The Apostle asked me whether I could recite any poetry of Umayya b. Abi'l-Salt, so I recited a hundred verses and at the end of each verse he cried, 'Go on!'" He said that Umayya almost became a Moslem in his poetry. Many such stories are told of the Apostle and the Companions. Erroneous views are prevalent on this subject. Some declare that it is unlawful to listen to any poetry whatever, and pass their lives in defaming their brother Moslems. Some, on the contrary, hold that all poetry is lawful and spend their time in listening to love-songs and descriptions of the face and hair and mole of the beloved. I do not intend to discuss the arguments which both parties in this controversy bring forward against each other. The Sufi Shaykhs follow the example of the Apostle, who, on being asked about poetry, said, "What is good thereof is good, and what is bad thereof is bad," i.e. whatever is unlawful, like back-biting and

calumny and foul abuse and blame of any person and utterance of infidelity, is equally unlawful whether it be expressed in prose or in verse; and whatever is lawful in prose, like morality and exhortations and inferences drawn from signs of God, and contemplation of the evidences of the Truth, is no less lawful in verse. In fine, just as it is unlawful and forbidden to look at or touch a beautiful object which is a source of evil, so it is unlawful and forbidden to listen to that object or, similarly, to hear the description of it. Those who regard such hearing as absolutely lawful must also regard looking and touching as lawful, which is infidelity and heresy. If one says, " I hear only God and seek only God in eye and cheek and mole and curl," it follows that another may look at a cheek and mole and say that he sees and seeks God alone, because both the eye and the ear are sources of admonition and knowledge; then another may say that in touching a person whose description it is thought allowable to hear and whom it is thought allowable to behold, he, too, is only seeking God since one sense is no better adapted than another to apprehend a reality; then the whole religious law is made null and void, and the Apostle's saying that the eyes commit fornication loses all its force, and the blame of touching persons with whom marriage may legally be contracted is removed, and the ordinances of religion fall to the ground. Foolish aspirants to Sufism, seeing the adepts absorbed in ecstasy during audition (*sama*), imagined that they were acting from a sensual impulse and said, " It is lawful, else they would not have done so," and

imitated them, taking up the form but neglecting the spirit until they perished themselves and led others into perdition. This is one of the great evils of our time. I will set it forth completely in the proper place.

CHAPTER ON THE AUDITION OF VOICES AND MELODIES

The Apostle said, "Beautify your voices by reading the Koran aloud"; and God hath said, "God addeth unto His creatures what He pleaseth" (Kor. xxxv. 1), meaning, as the commentators think, a beautiful voice; and the Apostle said, "Whoso wishes to hear the voice of David, let him listen to the voice of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari." It is stated in well-known traditions that the inhabitants of Paradise enjoy audition, for there comes forth from every tree a different voice and melody. When diverse sounds are mingled together, the natural temperament experiences a great delight. This sort of audition is common to all living creatures, because the spirit is subtle and there is a subtlety in sounds, so that when they are heard the spirit inclines to that which is homogeneous with itself. Physicians and those philosophers who claim to possess a profound knowledge of the truth have discussed this subject at large and have written books on musical harmony. The results of their invention are manifest to-day in the musical instruments which have been contrived for the sake of exciting passion and procuring amusement and pleasure, in accord with Satan, and so skilfully that (as the story is told) one day when Ishaq of Mawsil was playing in a garden, a nightingale, enraptured with the music,

broke off its song in order to listen, and dropped dead from the bough. I have heard many tales of this king, but my only purpose is to mention the theory that the temperaments of all living creatures are composed of sounds and melodies blended and harmonized. Abrahim Khawwas says: "Once I came to an Arab tribe and alighted at the hospitable abode of one of their chiefs. I saw a negro lying, shackled and chained, at the tent door in the heat of the sun. I felt pity for him and resolved to intercede with the chief on his behalf. When food was brought for my entertainment I refused to eat, knowing that nothing grieves an Arab more than this. The chief asked me why I refused, and I answered that I hoped his generosity would grant me a boon. He begged me to eat, assuring me that all he possessed was mine. 'I do not want your wealth,' I said, 'but pardon this slave for my sake.' 'First hear what his offence was,' the chief replied, 'then remove his chains. This slave is a camel-driver and he has a sweet voice. I sent him with a few camels to my estates to fetch me some corn. He put a double load on every camel and chanted so sweetly on the way that the camels ran at full speed. They returned hither in a short time and as soon as he unloaded them they died one after another.' 'O prince,' I cried in astonishment, 'a nobleman like you does not speak falsely, but I wish for some evidence of this tale.' While we talked a number of camels were brought from the desert to the wells, that they might drink. The chief enquired how long they had gone without water. 'Three days,' was the reply. He then commanded the slave to chant. The camels be-

came so occupied in listening to his song that they would not drink a mouthful of water, and suddenly they turned and fled, one by one, and dispersed in the desert. The chieftain released the slave and pardoned him for my sake."

We often see, for example, how camels and asses are affected with delight when their drivers trill an air. In Khurasan and Iraq, it is the custom for hunters, when hunting deer (*ahu*) at night, to beat on a basin of brass (*tashti*) in order that the deer may stand still, listening to the sound, and thus be caught. And in India, as is well known, some people go out to the open country and sing and make a tinkling sound, on hearing which the deer approach ; then the hunters encircle them and sing until the deer are lulled to sleep by the delightful melody and are easily captured. The same effect is manifest in young children who cease crying in the cradle when a tune is sung to them, and listen to the tune. Physicians say of such a child that he is sensible and will be clever when he grows up. On the death of one of the ancient kings of Persia his ministers wished to enthrone his son, who was a child two years old. Buzurjmihr, on being consulted, said, "Very good, but we must make trial whether he is sensible," and ordered singers to sing to him. The child was stirred with emotion and began to shake his arms and legs. Buzurjmihr declared that this was a hopeful sign and consented to his succession. Anyone who says that he finds no pleasure in sounds and melodies and music is either a liar and a hypocrite, or he is not in his right senses and is outside the category of men and beasts. Those who prohibit music do so in order

that they may keep the Divine commandment, but theologians are agreed that it is permissible to hear musical instruments if they are not used for diversion, and if the mind is not led to wickedness through hearing them. Many traditions are cited in support of this view. Thus it is related that A'isha said, " A slave-girl was singing in my house when Umar asked leave to enter. As soon as she heard his step she ran away. He came in and the Apostle smiled. ' O Apostle of God,' cried Umar, ' what hath made thee smile ? ' The Apostle answered, ' A slave-girl was singing here, but she ran away as soon as she heard thy step.' ' I will not depart,' said Umar, ' until I hear what the Apostle heard.' So the Apostle called the girl back and she began to sing, the Apostle listening to her." Many of the Companions have related similar traditions which Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami has collected in his *Kitab al-Sama* ; and he has pronounced such audition to be permissible. In practising audition, however, the Sufi Shaykhs desire, not permissibility as the vulgar do, but spiritual advantages. Licence is proper for beasts, but men who are subject to the obligations of religion ought to seek spiritual benefit from their actions. Once, when I was at Merv, one of the leaders of the Ahl-i hadith and the most celebrated of them all said to me : " I have composed a work on the permissibility of audition." I replied : " It is a great calamity to religion that the Imam should have made lawful an amusement which is the root of all immorality." "If you do not hold it to be lawful," said he, " why do you practise it ? " I answered : " Its lawfulness depends on circumstances and can-

not be asserted absolutely: if audition produces a lawful effect on the mind, then it is lawful; it is unlawful if the effect is unlawful and permissible if the effect is permissible."

CHAPTER ON THE PRINCIPLES OF AUDITION

You must know that the principles of audition vary with the variety of temperaments, just as there are different desires in various hearts, and it is tyranny to lay down one law for all. Auditors (*mustami'an*) may be divided into two classes: (1) those who hear the spiritual meaning, (2) those who hear the material sound. There are good and evil results in each case. Listening to sweet sounds produces an effervescence (*ghalayan*) of the substance moulded in man: true (*haqq*) if the substance be true, false (*batil*) if the substance be false. When the stuff of a man's temperament is evil, that which he hears will be evil, too. The whole of this topic is illustrated by the story of David, whom God made His vicegerent and gave him a sweet voice and caused his throat to be a melodious pipe so that wild beasts and birds came from mountain and plain to hear him, and the water ceased to flow and the birds fell from the air. It is related that during a month's space the people who were gathered round him in the desert ate no food, and the children neither wept nor asked for milk; and whenever the folk departed it was found that many had died of the rapture that seized them as they listened to his voice: one time, it is said, the tale of the dead amounted to seven hundred maidens and twelve thousand old men. Then God, wishing to separate those who

listened to the voice and followed their temperament from the followers of the truth (*ahl-i haqq*) who listened to the spiritual reality, permitted Iblis to work his will and display his wiles. Iblis fashioned a mandoline and a flute and took up a station opposite to the place where David was singing. David's audience became divided into two parties: the blest and the damned. Those who were destined to damnation lent ear to the music of Iblis while those who were destined to felicity remained listening to the voice of David. The spiritualists (*ahl-i-ma'ni*) were conscious of nothing except David's voice, for they saw God alone; if they heard the Devil's music, they regarded it as a temptation proceeding from God, and if they heard David's voice, they recognized it as being a direction from God; wherefore they abandoned all things that are merely subsidiary and saw both right and wrong as they really are. When a man has audition of this kind, whatever he hears is lawful to him. Some impostors, however, say that their audition is contrary to the reality. This is absurd, for the perfection of saintship consists in seeing everything as it really is, that the vision may be right; if you see otherwise, the vision is wrong. The Apostle said: "O God, let us see things as they are." Similarly, right audition consists in hearing everything as it is in quality and predicament. The reason why men are seduced and their passions excited by musical instruments is that they hear unreally: if their audition corresponded with the reality they would escape from all evil consequences. The people of error heard the word of God and their error waxed

greater than before. Some of them quoted "*The eyes attain not unto Him*" (Kor. vi. 103) as a demonstration that there shall be no vision of God; some cried, "Then He settled Himself on the throne" (Kor. vii. 52) to prove that position and direction may be affirmed of Him; and some argued that God actually "comes," since He has said, "*And thy Lord shall come and the angels rank by rank*" (Kor. lxxxix. 23). Inasmuch as error was implanted in their minds it profited them nothing to hear the word of God. The Unitarian on the other hand, when he peruses a poem, regards the Creator of the poet's nature and the Disposer of his thoughts, and drawing an admonition therefrom, sees in the act an evidence of the Agent. Thus he finds the right way even in falsehood while those whom we have mentioned above lose the way in the midst of truth.

SECTION

The Shaykhs have uttered many sayings on this subject. Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "Audition is a Divine influence (*warid al-haqq*) which stirs the heart to seek God: those who listen to it spiritually (*ba-haqq*) attain unto God (*tahaqqaqa*), and those who listen to it sensually (*ba-nafs*) fall into heresy (*tazandaqa*)." This venerable Sufi does not mean that audition is the cause of attaining unto God, but he means that the auditor ought to hear the spiritual reality, not the mere sound, and that the Divine influence ought to sink into his heart and stir it up. One who in that audition follows the truth will experience a revelation whereas one who follows his lower soul (*nafs*) will

be veiled and will have recourse to interpretation (*ta'wil*). *Zandaqa* (heresy) is a Persian word which has been Arabicized. In the Arabic tongue it signifies "interpretation." Accordingly, the Persians call the commentary on their Book *Zand u Pazand*. The philologists, wishing to give a name to the descendants of the Magians, called them *zindiq* on the ground of their assertion that everything stated by the Moslems has an esoteric interpretation, which destroys its external sense. At the present day the Shi'ites of Egypt, who are the remnant of these Magians, make the same assertion. Hence the word *zindiq* came to be applied to them as a proper name. Dhu'l-Nun, by using this term, intended to declare that spiritualists in audition penetrate to the reality, while sensualists make a far-fetched interpretation and thereby fall into wickedness. Shibli says: "Audition is outwardly a temptation (*fitnat*) and inwardly an admonition (*ibrat*): he who knows the mystic sign (*isharat*) may lawfully hear the admonition; otherwise, he has invited temptation and exposed himself to calamity—i.e. audition is calamitous and a source of evil to any one whose whole heart is not absorbed in the thought of God. Abu 'Ali Rudbari said, in answer to a man who questioned him concerning audition: "Would that I were rid of it entirely!" because man is unable to do everything as it ought to be done, and when he fails to do a thing duly he perceives that he has failed and wishes to be rid of it altogether. One of the Shaykhs says: "Audition is that which makes the heart aware of the things in it that produce absence" (*ma fiha mina l-mughayyibat*) so that the

effect thereof is to make the heart present with God. Absence (*ghaybat*) is a most blameworthy quality of the heart. The lover though absent from his Beloved, must be present with him in heart; if he be absent in heart, his love is gone. My Shaykh said: "Audition is the viaticum of the indigent: one who has reached his journey's end hath no need of it," because hearing can perform no function where union is; news is heard of the absent, but hearing is naught when two are face to face. Husri says: "What avails an audition that ceases whenever the person whom thou hearest becomes silent? It is necessary that thy audition should be continuous and uninterrupted." This saying is a token of the concentration of his thoughts in the field of love. When a man attains so high a degree as this he hears (spiritual truths) from every object in the universe.

CHAPTER ON THE VARIOUS OPINIONS RESPECTING AUDITION

The Shaykhs and spiritualists hold different views as to audition. Some say that it is a faculty appertaining to absence, for in contemplation (of God) audition is impossible, inasmuch as the lover who is united with his beloved fixes his gaze on Him and does not need to listen to him; therefore, audition is a faculty of beginners which they employ when distracted by forgetfulness, in order to obtain concentration; but one who is already concentrated will inevitably be distracted thereby. Others, again, say that audition is a faculty appertaining to presence (with God) because love demands all; until the whole of the lover is

absorbed in the whole of the Beloved, he is deficient in love; therefore, as in union the heart (*dil*) has love and the soul (*sirr*) has contemplation and the spirit has union and the body has service, so the ear also must have such a pleasure as the eye derives from seeing. How excellent, though on a frivolous topic, are the words of the poet who declared his love for wine!

> "Give me wine to drink and tell me it is wine.
> Do not give it me in secret, when it can be given openly."

i.e. let my eye see it and my hand touch it and my palate taste it and my nose smell it: there yet remains one sense to be gratified, viz. my hearing: tell me, therefore, this is wine, that my ear may feel the same delight as my other senses. And they say that audition appertains to presence with God, because he who is absent from God is a disbeliever (*munkir*) and those who disbelieve are not worthy to enjoy audition. Accordingly, there are two kinds of audition: mediate and immediate. Audition of which a reciter (*qari*) is the source is a faculty of absence, but audition of which the Beloved (*yari*) is the source is a faculty of presence. It was on this account that a well-known spiritual director said: "I will not put any created beings, except the chosen men of Gods, in a place where I can hear their talk or converse with them."

CHAPTER CONCERNING THEIR DIFFERENT GRADES IN THE REALITY OF AUDITION

You must know that each Sufi has a particular grade in audition and that the feelings which he gains therefrom are proportionate to his grade. Thus, whatever is heard by penitents augments

their contrition and remorse; whatever is heard by longing lovers increases their longing for vision; whatever is heard by those who have certain faith confirms their certainty; whatever is heard by novices verifies their elucidation (of matters which perplex them); whatever is heard by lovers impels them to cut off all worldly connections and whatever is heard by the spiritually poor forms a foundation for hopelessness. Audition is like the sun, which shines on all things but affects them differently according to their degree: it burns or illumines or dissolves or nurtures. All the classes that I have mentioned are included in the three following grades: beginners (*mubta diyan*), middlemen (*mutawassitan*), and adepts (*kamilan*). I will now insert a section treating of the state of each of these three grades in regard to audition, that you may understand this matter more easily.

SECTION

Audition is an influence (*warid*) proceeding from God, and inasmuch as this body is moulded of folly and diversion, the temperament of the beginner is nowise capable of (enduring) the word of God, but is overpoweringly impressed by the descent of that spiritual reality, so that some lose their senses in audition and some die, and there is no one whose temperament retains its equilibrium. It is well known that in the hospitals of Rum they have invented a wonderful thing which they call *angalyun*; the Greeks call anything that is very marvellous by this name, e.g. the Gospel and the books (*wad*) of Mani (*Manes*). The word signifies "promulgation

of a decree" (*izhar-i hukm*). This *angalyun* resembles a stringed musical instrument (*rudi az rudha*). The sick are brought to it two days in the week and are forced to listen, while it is being played on, for a length of time proportionate to the malady from which they suffer; then they are taken away. If it is desired to kill anyone, he is kept there for a longer period until he dies. Everyone's term of life is really written (in the tablets of destiny), but death is caused indirectly by various circumstances. Physicians and others may listen continually to the angalyun without being affected in any way, because it is consonant with their temperaments. I have seen in India a worm which appeared in a deadly poison and lived by it, because that poison was its whole being. In a town of Turkistan, on the frontiers of Islam, I saw a burning mountain from the rocks of which sal-ammoniac fumes (*nawshadur*) were boiling forth; and in the midst of that fire was a mouse, which died when it came out of the glowing heat. My object in citing these examples is to show that all the agitation of beginners, when the Divine influence descends upon them, is due to the fact that their bodies are opposed to it; but when it becomes continual, the beginner receives it quietly. At first the Apostle could not bear the vision of Gabriel, but in the end he used to be distressed if Gabriel ever failed to come, even for a brief space. Similarly, the stories which I have related above show that beginners are agitated and that adepts are tranquil in audition. Junayd had a disciple who was wont to be greatly agitated in audition, so that the other dervishes were distracted. They

complained to Junayd, and he told the disciple that he would not associate with him if he displayed such agitation in future. " I watched that dervish," says Abu Muhammad Jurayri, " during audition : he kept his lips shut and was silent until every pore in his body opened ; then he lost consciousness and remained in that state for a whole day. I know not whether his audition or his reverence for his spiritual director was more perfect." It is related that a man cried out during audition. His spiritual director bade him be quiet. He laid his head on his knee, and when they looked he was dead. I heard Shaykh Abu Mu·lim Faris b. Ghalib al-Farisi say that someone laid his hand on the head of a dervish who was agitated during audition and told him to sit down : he sat down and died on the spot. Raqqi relates that Darraj said : " While Ibn al-Quti and I were walking on the bank of the Tigris between Basra and Ubulla, we came to a pavilion and saw a handsome man seated on the roof, and beside him a girl who was singing this verse :

> My love was bestowed on thee in the way of God ;
> Thou changest every day : it would beseem thee better not to do this.'

A young man with a jug and a patched frock was standing beneath the pavilion. He exclaimed : ' O damsel, for God's sake chant that verse again for I have only a moment to live ; let me hear it and die ! ' The girl repeated her song, whereupon the youth uttered a cry and gave up his soul. The owner of the girl said to her, ' Thou art free ' and came down from the roof and busied himself with preparations for the young man's funeral. When

he was buried all the people of Basra said prayers over him. Then the girl's master rose and said: 'O people of Basra, I, who am So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, have devoted all my wealth to pious works and have set free my slaves.' With these words he departed and no one ever learned what became of him." The moral of this tale is that the novice should be transported by audition to such an extent that his audition shall deliver the wicked from their wickedness. But in the present age some persons attend meetings where the wicked listen to music, yet they say, "We are listening to God"; and the wicked join with them in this audition and are encouraged in their wickedness, so that both parties are destroyed. Junayd was asked: "May we go to a church for the purpose of admonishing ourselves and beholding the indignity of their unbelief and giving thanks for the gift of Islam?" He replied: "If you can go to a church and bring some of the worshippers back with you to the Court of God, then go, but not otherwise." When an anchorite goes into a tavern, the tavern becomes his cell, and when a haunter of taverns goes into a cell, that cell becomes his tavern. An eminent Shaykh relates that when he was walking in Baghdad with a dervish, he heard a singer chanting:

> "If it be true, it is the best of all objects of desire,
> And if not, we have lived a pleasant life in it."

The dervish uttered a cry and died. Abu 'Ali Rudbari says: "I saw a dervish listening attentively to the voice of a singer. I too inclined my ear, for I wished to know what he was chanting.

The words, which he sang in mournful accents, were these:

'I humbly stretch my hand to him who gives food liberally.'

Then the dervish uttered a loud cry and fell. When we came near him we found that he was dead." A certain man says: "I was walking on a mountain road with Ibrahim Khawwas. A sudden thrill of emotion seized my heart, and I chanted:

'All men are sure that I am in love,
But they know not whom I love.
There is in Man no beauty
That is not surpassed in beauty by a beautiful voice.'

Ibrahim begged me to repeat the verses, and I did so. In sympathetic ecstasy (*tawajud*) he danced a few steps on the stony ground. I observed that his feet sank into the rock as though it were wax. Then he fell in a swoon. On coming to himself he said to me: 'I have been in Paradise, and you were unaware.'" I once saw with my own eyes a dervish walking in meditation among the mountains of Adharbayajan and rapidly singing to himself these verses, with many tears and moans:

"By God, sun never rose or set but thou wert my heart's desire and my dream.
And I never sat conversing with any people but thou wert the subject of my conversation in the midst of my comrades.
And I never mentioned thee in joy or sorrow but love for thee was mingled with my breath.
And I never resolved to drink water, when I was athirst, but I saw an image of thee in the cup.
And were I able to come I would have visited thee, crawling on my face or walking on my head."

On hearing these verses he changed countenance and sat down for a while, leaning his back against a crag, and gave up his soul.

Some of the Sufi Shaykhs have objected to the hearing of odes and poems and to the recitation of

the Koran in such a way that its words are intoned with undue emphasis, and they have warned their disciples against these practices and have themselves eschewed them and have displayed the utmost zeal in this matter. Of such objectors there are several classes, and each class has a different reason. Some have found traditions declaring the practices in question to be unlawful and have followed the pious Moslems of old in condemning them. They cite, for example, the Apostle's rebuke to Shirin, the handmaid of Hassan b. Thabit, whom he forbade to sing; and 'Umar's flogging the Companions who used to hear music; and 'Ali's finding fault with Mu'awiya for keeping singing-girls, and his not allowing Hassan to look at the Abyssinian woman who used to sing and his calling her "the Devil's mate." They say, moreover, that their chief argument for the objectionableness of music is the fact that the Moslem community, both now and in past times, are generally agreed in regarding it with disapproval. Some go so far as to pronounce it absolutely unlawful, quoting Abu 'l-Harith Bunani, who relates as follows: "I was very assiduous in audition. One night a certain person came to my cell and told me that a number of seekers of God had assembled and were desirous to see me. I went out with him and soon arrived at the place. They received me with extraordinary marks of honour. An old man, round whom they had formed a circle, said to me: 'With thy leave, some poetry will be recited.' I assented, whereupon one of them began to chant verses which the poets had composed on the subject of separation (from the beloved). They all rose in sympathetic

ecstasy, uttering melodious cries and making exquisite gestures, while I remained lost in amazement at their behaviour. They continued in this enthusiasm until near daybreak, then the old man said, 'O Shaykh, art not thou curious to learn who am I and who are my companions?' I answered that the reverence which I felt towards him prevented me from asking that question. 'I myself,' said he, 'was once 'Azra'il and am now Iblis, and all the rest are my children. Two benefits accrue to me from such concerts as this: firstly, I bewail my own separation (from God) and remember the days of my prosperity, and secondly, I lead holy men astray and cast them into error.' From that time (said the narrator) I have never had the least desire to practise audition."

I, 'Alf b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, have heard the Shaykh and Imam Abu 'l-Abbas al-Asqani relate that one day, being in an assembly where audition was going on, he saw naked demons dancing among the members of the party and breathing upon them, so that they waxed hot.

Others, again, refuse to practise audition on the ground that, if they indulged in it, their disciples would conform with them and thereby run a grave risk of falling into mischief and of returning from penitence to sin and of having their passions violently roused and their virtue corrupted. It is related that Junayd said to a recently converted disciple: "If you wish to keep your religion safe and to maintain your penitence, do not indulge, while you are young, in the audition which the Sufis practise; and when you grow old, do not let yourself be the cause of guilt in others."

Others say that there are two classes of auditors: those who are frivolous (*lahi*) and those who are divine (*ilahi*). The former are in the very centre of mischief and do not shrink from it, while the latter keep themselves remote from mischief by means of self-mortification and austerities and spiritual renunciation of all created things. "Since we" (so say the persons of whom I am now speaking), "belong to neither of these two classes, it is better for us to abstain from audition and to occupy ourselves with something that is suitable to our state."

Others say: "Inasmuch as audition is dangerous to the vulgar and their belief is disturbed by our taking part in it, and inasmuch as they are unable to attain to our degre therein and incur guilt through us, we have pity on the vulgar and give sincere advice to the elect and from altruistic motives decline to indulge in audition." This is a laudable course of action.

Others say: "The Apostle has said, 'It contributes to the excellence of a man's Islam if he leaves alone that which does not concern him.' Accordingly, we renounce audition as being unnecessary, for it is a waste of time to busy one's self with irrelevant things, and time is precious between lovers and the Beloved."

Others of the elect argue that audition is hearsay and its pleasure consists in gratification of a desire, and this is mere child's play. What value has hearsay when one is face to face? The act of real worth is contemplation (of God).

Such, in brief, are the principles of audition.

CHAPTER ON WAJD AND WUJUD AND TAWAJUD

Wajd and *wujud* are verbal nouns, the former meaning " grief " and the latter " finding." These terms are used by Sufis to denote two states which manifest themselves in audition: one state is connected with grief, and the other with gaining the object of desire. The real sense of " grief " is " loss of the Beloved and failure to gain the object of desire," while the real sense of " finding " is " attainment of the desired object." The difference between *hazan* (sorrow) and *wajd* is this, that the term *hazan* is applied to a selfish grief, whereas the term *wajd* is applied to grief for another in the way of love, albeit the relation of otherness belongs only to the seeker of God, for God Himself is never other than He is. It is impossible to explain the nature of *wajd*, because *wajd* is pain in actual vision, and pain (*alam*) cannot be described by pen (*qalam*). *Wajd* is a mystery between the seeker and the Sought, which only a revelation can expound. Nor is it possible to indicate the nature of *wujud*, because *wujud* is a thrill of emotion in contemplation of God, and emotion (*tarab*) cannot be reached by investigation (*talab*). *Wujud* is a grace bestowed by the Beloved on the lover, a grace of which no symbol can suggest the real nature. In my opinion, *wajd* is a painful affection of the heart, arising either from jest or earnest, either from sadness or gladness; and *wujud* is the removal of a grief from the heart and the discovery of the object that was its cause. He who feels *wajd* is either agitated by ardent longing in the state of occultation (*hijab*), or claimed by

contemplation in the state of revelation (*kashf*). The Shaykhs hold different views on the question whether *wajd* or *wujud* is more perfect. Some argue that, *wujud* being characteristic of novices (*muridan*), and *wajd* of gnostics (*'arifan*), and gnostics, being more exalted in degree than novices, it follows that *wajd* is higher and more perfect than *wujud*; for (they say) everything that is capable of being found is apprehensible, and apprehensibility is characteristic of that which is homogeneous with something else: it involves finiteness, whereas God is infinite; therefore, what a man finds is naught but a feeling (*mashrabi*), but what he has not found, and in despair has ceased to seek, is the Truth of which the only finder is God. Some, again, declare that *wajd* is the glowing passion of novices, while *wujud* is a gift bestowed on lovers, and, since lovers are more exalted than novices, quiet enjoyment of the gift must be more perfect than passionate seeking. This problem cannot be solved without a story, which I will now relate. One day Shibli came in rapturous ecstasy to Junayd. Seeing that Junayd was sorrowful, he asked what ailed him. Junayd said, "He who seeks shall find." Shibli cried, "No; he who finds shall seek." This anecdote has been discussed by the Shaykhs, because Junayd was referring to *wajd* and Shibli to *wujud*. I think Junayd's view is authoritative, for, when a man knows that his object of worship is not of the same *genus* as himself, his grief has no end. This topic has been handled in the present work. The Shaykhs agree that the power of knowledge should be greater than the power of *wajd*, since, if

wajd be more powerful, the person affected by it is in a dangerous position, whereas one in whom knowledge preponderates is secure. It behoves the seeker in all circumstances to be a follower of knowledge and of the religious law, for when he is overcome by *wajd* he is deprived of discrimination (*khitab*), and is not liable to recompense for good actions or punishment for evil, and is exempt from honour and disgrace alike: therefore he is in the predicament of madmen, not in that of the saints and favourites of God. A person in whom knowledge (*'ilm*) preponderates over feeling (*hal*) remains in the bosom of the Divine commands and prohibitions, and is always praised and rewarded in the palace of glory; but a person in whom feeling preponderates over knowledge is outside of the ordinances, and dwells, having lost the faculty of discrimination, in his own imperfection. This is precisely the meaning of Junayd's words. There are two ways: one of knowledge and one of action. Action without knowledge, although it may be good, is ignorant and imperfect, but knowledge, even if it be unaccompanied by action, is glorious and noble. Hence Abu Yazid said, "The unbelief of the magnanimous is nobler than the Islam of the covetous"; and Junayd said, "Shibli is intoxicated; if he became sober he would be an Imam from whom people would benefit." It is a well-known story that Junayd and Muhammad b. Masruq and Abu 'l-Abbas b. 'Ata were together, and the singer (*qawwal*) was chanting a verse. Junayd remained calm while his two friends fell into a forced ecstasy (*tawajud*), and on their asking him why he did not participate in the audition

(*sama*) he recited the word of God: "*Thou shalt think them* (the mountains) *motionless, but they shall pass like the clouds*" (Kor. xxvii. 90). *Tawajud* is "taking pains to produce *wajd*," by representing to one's mind, for example, the bounties and evidence of God, and thinking of union (*ittisal*) and wishing for the practices of holy men. Some do this *tawajud* in a formal manner, and imitate them by outward motions, and methodical dancing and grace of gesture: such *tawajud* is absolutely unlawful. Others do it in a spiritual manner, with the desire of attaining to their condition and degree. The Apostle said, "He who makes himself like unto a people is one of them," and he said, "When ye recite the Koran, weep, or if ye weep not, then endeavour to weep." This tradition proclaims that *tawajud* is permissible. Hence that spiritual director said: "I will go a thousand leagues in falsehood, that one step of the journey may be true."

CHAPTER XI

THE SUFI CONCEPTION OF THE CHISHTI ORDER

NO study of the Orders of Sufism will be complete without some information regarding the Chishti Order, which had made a great mark in the countries of the Middle East. Our modern authority on it is based upon the recent researches of Syed Mohamed Hafeez, who considers that the oldest Dervish Order in India is the Chishti Order, which, he adds, traces its origin to *Kh*wajah Abu Abdal Chishti, who died A.D. 966. It was introduced into India by Khwajah Mu 'in-ud-Din Chishti, of Sistan, a southern district of Afghanistan, where he was born A.D. 1142. He later removed with his parents to the region of Khurasan, and thence to the neighbourhood of Nishapur, near Meshed, where he became the disciple of Khwaja 'Uthman Chishti Haruni. After more than twenty years' discipleship, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Then he made a journey through Iraq and Persia, during which he made the acquaintance of many noted Sufis, such as 'Abd-ul-Qadir Jilani and Khwajah Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtyar Kaki, who became one of his disciples. Finally, his travels brought him back to Herat, Balkh and Ghazni, from whence he came in A.D. 1192 with the army of Shihab-ud-Din Ghuri to Delhi, where he stayed for a time. At the age of fifty-two, in the year A.D. 1195, he went to Ajmir, which henceforth

became his permanent residence, until his death in A.D. 1236.

His tomb, in the famous *dargah* of the Khwajah Sahib at Ajmir, is the centre of attraction for tens of thousands of Moslems, and even Hindus, who annually visit the city on the occasion of the *'urs* or festival, which celebrates the anniversary of the death of the saint. On this occasion two enormous kettles are filled with rice, at the expense of wealthy Moslems who thereby seek to win merit. The contents are distributed in portions to any of the people present who may desire some. In connection with the *dargah* mosque, which was built by Akbar, there is a flourishing *madrasah*, which is largely supported by grants from H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Emperor Akbar was greatly devoted to the Khwajah Sahib's tomb, and during a part of his rein made annual pilgrimages to it in performance of a vow.

Akbar's connection with the Chishti tomb of Ajmir forms a very important chapter in the history of the life of the Emperor as well as that of the tomb. In fact, it was because of the many pilgrimages he made to the shrine of Khwajah Sahib that he found it necessary to build a palace there. His tomb-worship seems to have begun as the result of a vow he once made in connection with his campaign against Chitor. He vowed that, if he took the fort of Chitor, he would walk on foot from Agra to the tomb of the holy man in Ajmir. The fort was taken in A.D. 1568, and the vow was paid to the latter. He had made a similar vow before the birth of Jahangir, in A.D. 1567, and for ten successive years he made an annual pilgrimage

to it. His last pilgrimage to Ajmir seems to have been in A.D. 1579.

The spiritual descendants of Khwajah M'in-ud-Din Chishti have been among the most famous saints of India, and, in order that the reader may have a clearer view of the line of successors of this important order, a list of some of their names in order is given below :

THE CHISHTI FAMILY TREE

Khwajah Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti, the saint of Ajmir.
|
Khwajah Qutb-ud-Din, of Delhi, the Qutb Sahib.
|
Shaykh Farin-un-Din, Shakarganj, the famous Baba Farid, of Pak Pattan.

Hadrat Nizam-up-Din Awliya, of Delhi, whose spiritual descendants are called NIZAMIS. | and so on.

Hadrat Makhdum 'Ala-ud-Din 'Ali Ahmad Sabir, of Piran Kalir (near Rurki), His spiritual descendants are called SABIRIS.
|
Sh. Shans-un-Din Turk, of Panipat.
|
Shah-i-Walayat Sh. Jalal-ud-Din, of Panipat.
|
Sh. 'Abd-ul-Haqq, of Radauli (U.P.).
|
Sh. 'Arif Sahib.
|
Sh. Muhammad Sahib.
|
Sh. 'Abd-ul-Quddus Sahib, Qutb of Gangoh (U.P.).
|
Sh. Jalal-ud-Din, of Thanesar.
|
Sh. Nizam-ud-Din, of Balkh, Afghanistan.
|
Sh. Abu Sa'id, of Gangoh.
|
Sh. Muhammad Sadiq, of Gangoh.
|
Sh. Da'ud Sahib, of Gangoh.
|
Shah 'Abd-ul-Maiali.
|
Hadrat Miran Sayyid Shah Bhik, the famous Miran Sahib, whose tomb is at Ghuram, in Patiala States ; and so on.

The most noted of the above list of Chishti would include Khwajah Qutb-ud-Din, Bakhtya Kaki, of Ush, near Baghdad, who is buried near the Qutb Minar, at Delhi, for whom, it is said, this great column was named. He was a disciple and intimate friend of M'in-ud-Din, and died in the same year as his master.

Shaykh Farid-ud-Din Shakarganj, better known as Baba Farid, who died in A.D. 1265, and whose tomb is at Pak Pattan, in the Punjab, is known throughout India. The crowd that each year attends his *'urs*, on the fifth of the month of Muharram, is enormous, and includes Hindus at well as Moslems. He was succeeded by two famous disciples, Hadrat Nizam-ud-Din Awliya, of Delhi, and Hadrat Makhdum 'Ala-ud-Din Ali Ahmad Sabir.

Nizam-ud-Din Awliya, whose real name was Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Daniyal al-Bukhari, was a native of Budaun, U.P., where he was born in A.D. 1238. He soon became a favourite with his master, and was nominated by Baba Farid to be his *khalifah* (successor) when he was only twenty years of age, seven years before the death of Farid-ud-Din. During his life he enjoyed the society of many eminent contemporaries, some of whom became his disciples. The most noted of these were the poets Amir Khusru and Amir Hasin Dihlawi, and the historian Biya-ud-Din Barani. He died in the year A.D. 1325 and his tomb in the suburbs of Delhi, surrounded by the graves of many of his followers, is still visited by devout pilgrims from near and far.

Hadrat Makhdum 'Ala-ud-Din 'Ali Ahmad

Sabir, the second disciple of Farid-ud-Din to become his successor, likewise acquired a great reputation for piety before his death in A.D. 1291. His tomb is just north of Rurki, at a spot called Piran Kalir, where there is a large gathering every year on the occasion of the saint's *'urs*. His followers are called *Sabiris*.

Nizam-ud-Din Awliya left as his *khalifah* Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad, the Lamp of Delhi (Chiragh-i-Dihli), who died in A.D. 1356. There followed a long line of saints in this order, who became so well known that the Chishti fraternity spread far and wide. One of the most important of these later saints was Shaykh Salim Chishti. He exerted a potent influence in the lives of the Mughul emperors and the royal families of his time. The Emperor Jahangir was born in his house, and the saint himself lies buried in a beautiful tomb at Fathpur Sikri. The followers of the saint, Nizam-ud-Din Awliya, and his successors are called *Nizamis*.

During the two centuries following the death of Shaykh Salim Chishti in A.D. 1572, the Chishti movement experienced a period of decay, which became very marked by the middle of the eighteenth century. Toward the close of that century a revival of the order throughout the Punjab and Sind was led by Khwajah Nur Muhammad Qiblah-i-'Alam, who was by ancestry a Rajput, and not of Sayyid origin, as had been the case of the former great leaders of the fraternity. Therefore, as Rose points out, " it would seem that in a sense the modern rise of the Chishti sect marks an indigenous revival of Islam, under religious

leaders of local tribes, instead of the older Sayyid families."

(2) METHOD OF ORGANIZATION

The government of the order or fraternity centres in the *pir*. He is either an appointed or hereditary successor to the position of authority, and is variously called *khalifah* or *sajjadah nishin*. On him devolves the duty of regulating the functions of the members, of passing on the divine knowledge of the Order, maintaining its practices, and of initiating new *murids* as they seek admission to the fraternity. The *pir* takes up his residence at the headquarters of the fraternity, which usually goes by the name of *khanaqah* (monastery). The *khanaqah* is an ancient institution of the *darwish* fraternities. Sometimes it is endowed, but sometimes not. It is often built around or over the tomb of the *pir* who founded it, which forms the inner sanctuary of the building. . . . On inquiry concerning the rules of the institution and the religious order, it appeared that membership was of two kinds. The lower order consisted of the laity in the villages and towns round about, who carried on their regular occupations of butcher, baker, water-carrier, tailor, mason, schoolmaster, lawyer, practically all classes being represented. The other class was connected with the monastery itself and this in turn was divided into two classes or parties: the travellers and the dwellers. The travellers were those to whom was assigned the task of going out into the surrounding country and collecting gifts from the lay members of the Order. The countryside was divided into circles (*halqahs*),

and each of the travellers was assigned his particular circle for visitation and collection. In due course he must return to the *khanaqah* with the results of his labours, which income was disposed of according to the rules of the institution. The dwellers, or those who constantly stay in the *khanaqah*, were divided into three classes: the *ahl-i-khidmat* (servants), the *ahl-i-suhbat* (associates), and the *ahl-i-khilwat* (recluses). The first-named, according to Rose, who describes them with precision,

> are novices who do service in order to become acceptable to the men ' of deeds and stages', those who are engaged in practices and have advanced some stages on the path or way. By service they acquire fitness for ' kinship', admission to the next degree in the Order, and thus become a ' slipper out of the garment of alienation and farness', or ' put off the garment of separation from the Divine'.

The *khanaqah* exercises extensive influence for good or ill in the religious life of the Moslems of India who have elected to follow a spiritual guide, for the various *darwish* fraternities touch all classes, excepting those who have been influenced by modern education or extreme Wahhabi teachings.

(3) INTRODUCTION OF THE REGULAR RELIGIOUS ORDERS INTO INDIA

The religious orders, through which Sufi doctrines and practices have been chiefly introduced into India, have a long history. Out of the country from beyond the north-west frontier, and from Iraq, came the missionaries of these orders, the first one arriving toward the close of the twelfth century. They brought with them the fervour, devotion, and

piety begotten of long contact and discipleship with spiritual leaders in those lands, and the best that they had learned from a long experience in journeyings, fastings, and pilgrimages to shrines of the saints and to holy Mecca. They easily won the favour of the multitudes, while numbers of their spiritual successors became influential guides of sovereigns, not only in spiritual but in political affairs as well. During life they enjoyed popular and royal favour; and after death their tombs became places of pilgrimage for multitudes of devout Moslems of all classes, and have continued to draw enormous crowds of devotees all through succeeding centuries.

(4) BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Sufism, with its warm, mystical yearning after union and fellowship with God, nowhere found a more suitable soil in which to thrive than India, where the very atmosphere was charged with a deep religious longing to find God, with the result that to-day it is estimated that fully two-thirds of India's Moslem population are under the influence of some one or other of the *darwish* orders. The effort to effect union of man's soul with God, which is deemed the highest bliss, is the chief function of the religious orders. Thus Sufism has provided the objective or philosophy of life, while it remains for the *darwish* orders to apply the philosophy to the everyday needs of the man in the street.

In doing this the religious orders have performed a great service to the natural mystical instincts of the masses. Their message is something like this. God has endowed all His servants with the

capacity for union with Him. They have this capacity hidden in their hearts. But it cannot be developed without guidance. Therefore it is necessary that every person should voluntarily seek to attach himself to some illuminated soul, who has become qualified to lead men to God. To perform the function of spiritual leadership there have arisen pious souls, who, because of their peculiar spiritual gifts and diligence in seeking God, have been divinely blessed with the gift of miraculous powers (*karamat*). These men, out of their practical experience in the way (*tariqah*) of coming into union (*wasl*) with God, have defined the stages (*maqamat*) of progress and laid down rules for the guidance of all men who desire to live on terms of the closest possible intimacy with God and His saints (*walis*).

The spiritual guide is known as the *murshid*, *pir*, or *shaykh*, and his disciple is called a *murid*. The practice of spiritual preceptorship, therefore, is known as *piri-muridi*, which has its counterpart in the *guru-chela* relationship among Hindus, and is very common throughout India. It is for the *pir* to win the favour of men through his holy living, or manifestation of the favour of God upon him, through some well attested *karamat* such as miraculous healing or the revelation of hidden mysteries or secrets. Having won his reputation for piety, he begins to make disciples of men who voluntarily come to him. He then proceeds to initiate them into the religious fraternity by some simple ceremony, which includes the joining of hands and the pledging of devotion on the part of the *murid* to the *pir*.

The *murid* is now designated a traveller (*salik*) on the way (*tariqah*), and he must carefully observe the rules of the order and the ritualistic practice of *dhikr* if he is to make progress on the way to union (*wasl*) with Allah. Having become a *traveller* on the *way*, his aim now is to be guided by the *pir* until he has advanced through the various stages (*maqamat*) of divine illumination (*khatrat*). Consequently, the problem becomes one of endeavouring to regulate the illumination or the divine ideas that are ready at all times to descend into the heart of man. Various orders of Sufis have arisen, differing from one another, in respect of the rules of meditation (*fikr*) and ritualistic observance (*dhikr*), which are prescribed for the regulation of the divine illumination (*khatrat*).

The stages through which the *murid* is to pass are variously described by the different orders in India, but in the main they are described by Hughes. The first stage is that of our common humanity (*Nasut*), for which one has the law (*Shari'at*) of Islam ; perfection in this leads on to the stage of *Malakut*, where one has the nature of angels, and must walk in the pathway of purity. The third stage is called *Jabarut* (possession of power), for which there is *Ma'rifah* (knowledge). The fourth is *Lahut* (absorption in divinity), where one has *Haqiqah* (absolute truth).

The religious practices by which the *salik* proceeds along the way are of vital importance. Those which are known as *dhikr* (remembering) have for their object the production of spiritual ecstasy (*wajd*), in which state (*hal*) the one who is engaged in the *dhikr* may shut out all other thoughts than

that of Allah Himself. The term *dhikr*, which is so commonly used among Moslems, means remembrance, hence it is the practice of remembering, or bringing Allah to mind. The methods are various, some of which I have observed myself. There is the *dhikr jali* (perceptible *dhikr*) when the exercises are performed *aloud*, when the voice may be raised very high, in order deliberately to shut out any thoughts. There is the opposite of this, the *dhikr khafi* (imperceptible *dhikr*), where the person practises his repetitions *quietly*. Finally, there is a still further advanced *khafi* form, in which the *salik* shuts his eyes, closes his lips, and fixes his attention on his inhalations and exhalations, and "when the breath goes out he thinks he says '*La ilahah*' (There is no God) . . . he annihilates all external objects ; and when it comes in, he thinks he says '*illah Allah*' (except Allah)." According to a *darwish* friend of mine, there is still another and more advanced form of the *dhikr khafi*. His fanciful view is as follows : Every person in his breathing consciously or unconsciously utters the name Allah, the syllable "Al" being the natural sound produced by the incoming breath, and "lah" being the natural sound of the outgoing breath.

The loud and vociferous form of *dhikr* one not infrequently met in India. A devotee sits by himself and begins to repeat his *dhikr* formula aloud. It is the usual "*La ilahah illa Allah,*" throwing his head downward towards his right side as he shouts "*La ilahah,*" and then bringing it back and throwing it downward toward the left side as he shouts "*illa Allah.*" As he proceeds his shouts

become louder and his actions grow more violent, until finally, in utter exhaustion, he sinks back in a stupor, which is generally called a state of ecstasy (*wajd*). For the purpose of *dhikr khafi* the rosary (*tasbih*) is often employed, to enable one to keep account of the number of times one repeats the formula.

In addition to the *dhikrs* that may be classed according to the voice used, we may also consider them from another standpoint. As will have been noted, the *dhikr* may be practised alone, or it may be performed by a congregation or group. The first kind has just been described, and may be performed at any time and any place, as we have seen. For the group, it is necessary to appoint a time and place. Such meetings are held in India usually on Thursday evenings; but there seems to be no such attempt to make public displays of them as is the case in Egypt at the present time, and as used to be the case in Turkey. As women belong to *darwish* fraternities as well as men, it is necessary for them to arrange their meetings for *dhikr* at such times and places as will be convenient for the women who are to gather.

The superficial differences of certain of these Major Schools of Sufism, of which Naqshbundi is indisputably the Leader, notwithstanding in essence they are the same in ideals and aspirations; for all centre around very definite allegiance to the tenets of the Islamic faith, and though they may have taken diverging paths, yet they are calculating to arrive at the One and the same Ultimate End, that is Absorption in the Supreme Radiance; however differently they may name their Paths,

which the Masnavi so aptly puts in the parable of four persons, who argued about the Name, although they sought the One and the same Thing.

A certain man gave a *dirhem*, it reads, to four persons, they being Turk, Greek, Persian, and an Arab, so that they may purchase some grapes.

" I will spend this on *angur*," said the Persian, for *angur* is Persian for grapes.

The second one was an Arab : he said, " No, I want *'inab*, not *angur*, O rascal ! "

The third was a Turk ; and he said, " This (money) is mine : I don't want *inab*, I want *uzum*."

The fourth, a Greek, said, " Stop this talk : I want *istafil*."

These people began fighting in contention with one another, because they were unaware of the hidden meaning of the names.

In their folly they smote each other with their fists : they were full of ignorance and empty of knowledge.

If a master of the esoteric had been there, a revered and many-languaged man, he would have pacified them ;

And then he would have said, " With this one *dirhem* I will give all of you what ye wish.

When without deceit ye surrender your hearts (to me), this *dirhem* will do all this for you.

Your one *dirhem* will become four—the result desired : four enemies will become one through unanimity.

What each one of you says produces strife and separation ; what I say brings you agreement.

Therefore be ye mute, *keep silence*, that I may be your tongue in speech and talk."

(Even) if in their agreement with each other your words are (as) a strong rope, in effect they are a source of contention and distraction.

Borrowed (accidental) heat produces no (essential) effect ; natural heat hath (its own) virtue.

If you have made vinegar hot by means of fire (still) when you drink it, it will undoubtedly increase the coldness (of your constitution),

Because that (artificially produced) heat of it is exotic : its fundamental nature is coldness and tartness.

And (on the other hand), though grape-syrup be frozen, my son, it will add heat to the liver when you drink it.

Hence the Shaykh's hypocrisy is better than our sincerity, for the former arises from (spiritual) insight, while the latter arise from (spiritual) blindness.

From the Shaykh's discourse comes union (concord) ; the words of the envious bring separation (discord).

As (for example) Solomon, who sped (on his prophetic mission) from God, and who knew the language of all birds.

In the time of his just sway the deer made friends with the leopard and ceased from war.

The dove became secure from the talons of the hawk, the sheep took not precaution against the wolf.

He (Solomon) became an arbitrator between enemies : he became a (means of establishing) oneness between the creatures that fly with wings.

Thou art running after grain, like an ant. Hark ! seek for Solomon ! Why art thou still astray ?

To the seeker of grain his grain becomes a snare, but the seeker of Solomon may have both (Solomon and the grain).

In these latter days the soul-birds have no security from each other for a moment;

(Yet) even in our epoch there is a Solomon who would give (us) peace and not suffer our injustice to continue.

Call to mind (the text), *There is no people* down to (*the words*) *but in the past a warner dwelt among them.*

God said that verily there has never been a people devoid of a vicar of God and a man of spiritual power;

And he makes the soul-birds so unanimous that, in respect of sincerity, he purges them of (all) guile and rancour.

They become (as) kind as a mother: he (Mohamed) said of the Moslems, "(They are as) one soul."

('Twas) through the Messenger of Allah they became one soul; else, they were absolute enemies, every one (to the other).

Allah Be Praised.